

ARCHAEOLOGIA:
OR
MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS
RELATING TO
ANTIQUITY.
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VOLUME VII.



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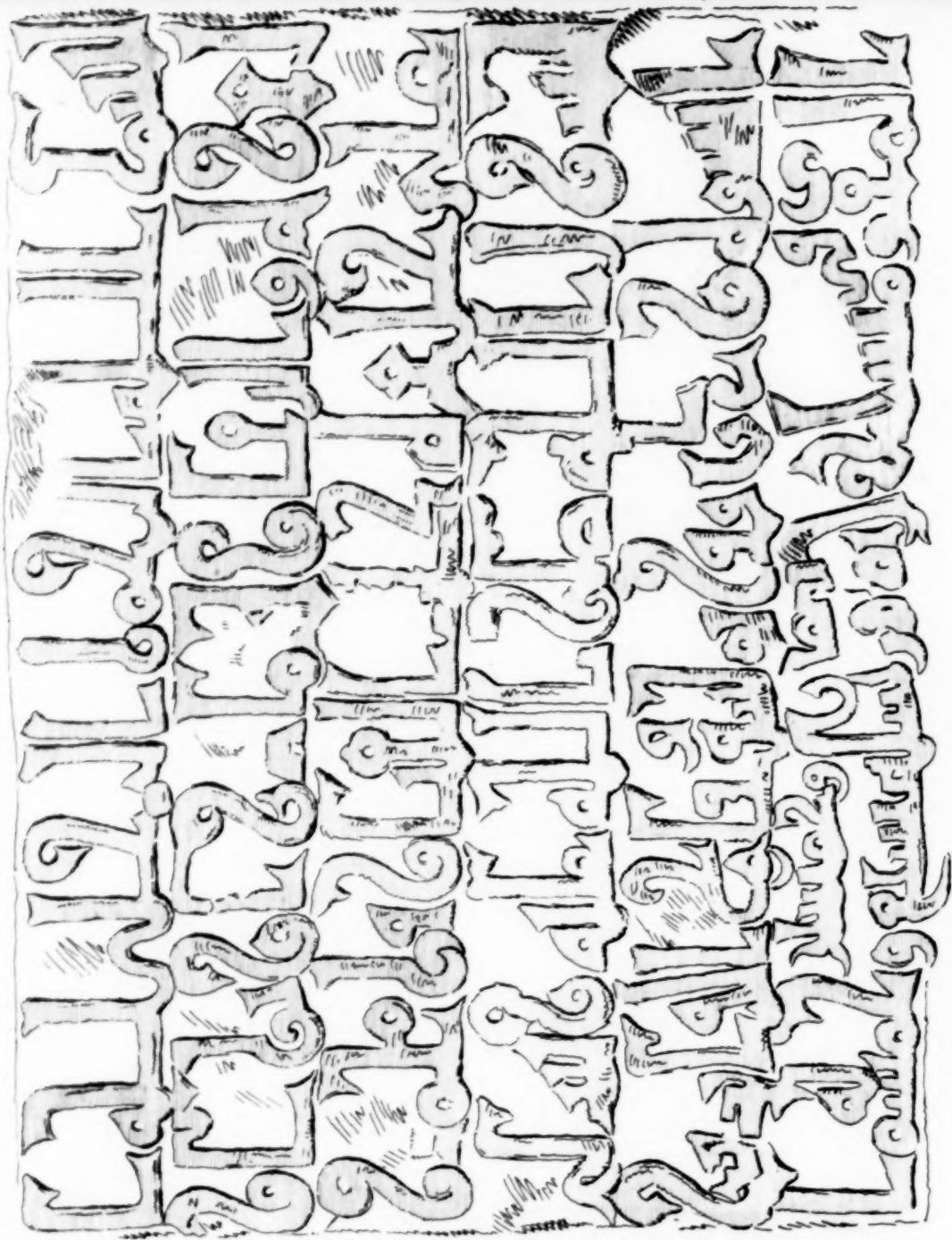
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ARCHAEOLOGIA:

O R,

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS, &c.

*I. Observations on an Inscription on an antient Pillar
now in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries.*

THIS pillar of granite [a], in form of an inverted cone, three feet four inches high, from eight inches 1-half to six inches 1-half diameter, with an inscription in Oriental characters in six lines, each letter three inches 1-fourth high, was brought 1726 from Alexandria, where it was found buried in the sands, and supposed to have served as a tomb stone. It was given by captain Childerston, who brought it to England, to Mr. John Oxley, surgeon in Horsley Down, Southwark. It came afterwards about 1737 or 1738 to Mr. Ames, then living at Wapping; and was purchased after his decease by the late James West, Esq; and on his death by Gustavus Brander, Esq; F.A.S.

[a] See pl. I.

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who

who has since presented it to the Society of Antiquaries, together with the several papers addressed to Mr. Ames attempting to illustrate and explain its original designation. From these papers the following abstract is here subjoined with additional observations interwoven.

THIS singular pillar and inscription, which baffled the Arabic professors of both universities, was explained at large (except a word or two) by Mr. *William Bobun*, who in a letter to Mr. Ames dated November 19, 1747, observes that the letters of the inscription are not altogether of the Cufic or most antient Arabic character, but compounded of it and of that which was invented by Ebn Moclah about the year of the Hejira 320, A. D. 940.

THIS ambitious man who was prime minister to three successive Caliphs from the year of the Hejira 316 to 326, and for his political intrigues lost both his hands and his tongue, and died in great misery an. 338, was an incomparable penman: and the three copies of the Coran which he wrote with his own hand were the admiration of posterity. He substituted the Arabic characters now in use to the clumsy Cufic ones, and obtained the name of *Vadbe Khatb* q. d. author and inventor of writing [b].

THE whole style of the inscription bespeaks the stone-cutter to have been an Egyptian [c], and no true Arab; and the whole of the inscription is most probably conceived in a dialect common to the people of Alexandria at that time. For Elmacin observes there was a material difference between the Arabic and Egyptian dialects.

[b] Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. p. 590. See Nieubuhr, Descript. de l'Arabie, I. p. 88.

[c] The fine mosque out of Cairo has round its frieze within sentences cut in large gilt characters called the *Couphe* character, in which they here antiently wrote the Arabic language; and over these are inscriptions in Arabic characters. Pocock, Desc. of the East, I. 31.

THE letters come nearest to the specimens of the Cufic engraved by M. Nieubuhr, Vol. I. plate VI. VII. VIII. who copied them in Yemen. He observes, that they are all of different periods and different from one another, and perhaps remarkable on that account. The learned of that country could not read them, and the litterati of Europe understand the old Cufic character better than the natives, particularly Dr. Reiske.

SEVERAL of the stone-cutter's errors may be noted in this inscription, particularly three in the first line.

DR. HUNT imagined he saw more than one alphabet in it, or at least three different conformations of the same letter; a circumstance as he justly observes which would create no small difficulty in languages more known than the Arabic is: but either for want of a fac simile transcript while it was in the hands of its first possessor or from some other reason, the learned professor offered no further explanation than of the usual Mohammedan affix, *Bismillah rabmani rabimi*.

"In the name of the most mercifull God"
the date "anno (Hejræ) 557" corresponding with A. D. 1161; and probably the name of the month, *Ramadan*.

HE inclined to think it *sepulchral*, erected by the Saracens in Sicily or some of the southern parts of Italy.

MR. Chappelow could make out only the following sentences, which he thus translated into Latin:

In nomine Dei admodum misericordis.
Deus (est) perfectus, purus,
Benignitas (est) illi & res desiderata.

Fortitudo est illi, religio vera
Cælestis Legati ejus, & traditiones.
Deus autem ipse (est) cælo.

MR. Bohun, reading it without the vowels as it is cut on the stone, represents it thus [d],

- I. Bsm alāhñ alrhm m alrbamy-l cāb
- II. bra b^a Dw alyfn m^a Tsm thm^a tm^a nm^a tm^a
- III. aly chlfd Hkym alfyn' M^a fynia Mhm^d bn
- IV. csm' l' alcāt^m m^a alcātija m^a s. Hd wn
- V. aewwanā mā ākra^{wa} mā Nawazza fcy Alftekywn [e]
- VI. Min el Mustafij fy Mesr ledinallabi wa Setta^m sana
- VII. wa kumwat macid wa kom salam kahi.

IN the name of the mercifull God to or of mercifull men and subjoins this translation.

- “ 1. The Bismela with a flat roof, this temple
2. Erected according to an old form, happening to be burnt down and laid sleeping in its ruins, was
3. In the time of the Caliph Hakem re-erected according to that (form) which Mahomet
4. Casim, in his directions touching this kind of building, had given and set thereof an
5. Example, and now lastly being purged from impurities and consecrated was rebuilt by order
6. Of Al Mustapha, over Egypt by the grace of God Lord of the faithful in the year 506 in the month Cahile.

HAVING thus ascertained the characters and meaning of this inscription, which he says will remain a riddle without a knowledge of the Arabic histories of Egypt, Mr. Bohun proceeds to illustrate them by history. The event to which he refers it is one of the most extraordinary and least known in the Dynasty of the Fatemite Caliphs.

HAKEM Bemrillah the third Caliph of that race succeeded his father Aziz Billah A. H. 386, A. D. 996, being then eleven years old; a monster of folly and impiety, who may be com-

[d] The words in Roman Mr. Bohun doubted of.

[e] Or *Alastal*.
pared

pared with Nero on more accounts than his religious extravagances. Not content with aspiring to divine worship and causing sixteen thousand persons to be enrolled among his worshippers, he affected inspiration and a familiar intercourse with the Deity on mount Mocattam, and had formed a design to abolish Mahometism, and establish a new religion. He persecuted Jews and Christians to a compliance with his opinions, and immediately allowed them the public exercise of their own. In the same fickleness he pulled down and rebuilt the church of the Holy Sepulchre on Mount Calvary, and after excommunicating and loading with curses as usurpers the Caliphs who preceded Ali, he presently revoked his edict, but still forbad the pilgrimage to Mecca, and suppressed the fast of Ramadan and the solemnity of the five daily prayers. To the first of these he substituted a visit to the temple of Thaalab or Sana in Yemen or Arabia Felix. In this he conformed to the tenets of Hamzah Ben Ahmed surnamed *Al Hadi* or the *Director*, who succeeded Darar a famous impostor, whose followers had the name of Darariah or Dera-rites, and by the countenance of this Caliph became very numerous in Egypt and the coast of Syria. To their innovations in religious practices Hamzah added an unbounded and incestuous latitude in marriage [f].

THE pilgrimage to the Caaba or Holy House at Mecca was such an essential part of the religion of the Arabs before Mahomet, that he found it easier to extirpate idolatry than a ceremony derived from Abraham and Ishmael [g]. The first attempt to lessen the resort to it was by Abrahah king of Yemen before the birth of Mahomet. He erected a magnificent temple at Sana in Yemen as an object of worship to his subjects [h]. The ancestors of the Barmecides were keepers of a superb

[f] Elmacin. lib. iii. p. 321. 323. Marigny Hist. des Arabes iv. 105.

[g] Sale, Prelim. Disc. to Alcoran, p. 122. Alcoran, c. ii. p. 16.

[h] Herbelot, v. *Abraba*. Sale Coran, c. cv. note. This seems to be what Herbelot calls *Thaalab*.

mosque at Balkè in Corassân, built on the plan of the temple of Mecca, and like it resorted to by pilgrims.

MR. Bohun supposed this pillar to commemorate a third attempt to discredit the original Caaba, and to have been erected as a substitute to the black stone in Mecca, not in Arabia, but at Alexandria, in order to draw off the devotion of the pilgrims of Africa, Syria, Spain, &c. from a place which was under the dominion of the Caliphs of Bagdad, inveterate enemies to those of Egypt. He conceives that it was first fixed in the corner of a temple built in a *cubical* [*i*] form, whence the Egyptian word *coob*. The word *aefwanō* or *aefwatō* in the fifth line means, he says, a *pillar set as a supporter* of any thing; and queries if any mark of an iron cramp on its top [*k*]?

THERE are six persons mentioned in this inscription whose lives and actions have been celebrated in the History of Egypt. We shall notice them in the order in which they stand on the pillar.

1. Ibn Dawlyfin or Dawasefis the Temanite, the first model-ler or projector of this rival Caaba was a great lord of Hakem's court [*l*] and in high favour with him; but more so with his sister Setulmuluc, an artful woman, by whose persuasion and contrivance he put an end to the life of Hakem in one of his retirements to the mountain, and thus anticipated his intention to rid himself both of his sister and this officer on a suspicion of plotting against him. After the Caliph's death Setulmuluc set up her nephew Ali, and soon after contrived to rid herself of Ebn Dawasi [*m*].

2. THE next person named is the Caliph Hakem himself.

[*i*] The Caaba at Mecca is derived from its *height* or *square* form. Sale, Prel. Disc.

[*k*] Mr. Bohun persuaded himself that it had its fellow at another corner, and that they both stood on pedestals and had architraves over them.

[*l*] *Quidam e maximis primatum.* Elmacin, III. p. 321.

[*m*] Ibid.

3. THE third is Mahomet, whose "directions concerning such kind of building" here referred to, Mr. Bohun thinks a distinct treatise from the Coran. But it appears to be no other than the passage in that book, c. 2. p. 16. "appointing the house of Mecca to be a place of resort for mankind, &c."

4. 5. ALAFTAL [n] and Aftekin are names which frequently occur in the Syrian and Egyptian History under the Caliph.

6. MOSTAFI Ledinillah (who before his accession had only the name of Berar) and his elder brother and predecessor Mostali, who left an infant son from whom his uncle in confederacy with Aftekin usurped the government and Alexandria, but was soon defeated by Afhdal the commander of the troops in Egypt.

MR. Bohun understands by this inscription that Mostafi rebuilt this temple with licence of Alaftal, governor of Syria and Egypt, and his deputy in the latter, Aftekin, which so provoked Alaftal that he besieged and took prisoners both the usurping Caliph and Aftekin; and they were never seen afterwards. This Mostafi being an usurper, his name is not inserted in the list of the Caliphs; but being inscribed on this pillar may have induced Afhdal to pull down the whole temple, A. D. 507 [o].

So far Mr. Bohun appears to have at least historical *probability* on his side. But when he proceeds to conjecture that "this pillar belonged to a temple built at Alexandria in order for an union between Christians and Mussulmen, and that it retained a name which signifies *comprehension* or *union*," he seems to indulge a warm imagination without any other support, than the strange proposal made a century after by our Richard II. to Saladin to give his sister Joan the dowager queen of Cyprus

[n] *Afhdal*, Herbelot, p. 632. Elmacin, p. 369. This was also the name of the great Saladin's eldest son.

[o] Contigit in Egypto terræmotus ingens die Veneris 3 Tuti A. 828 hora diei 3. Ea nocte Afhdalus stratiarcha destruxit templum *Harijra*, et divulgavit id ex terræ motu accidisse. Elmacin, p. 369.

in marriage to that Sultan's brother **Adel** or **Aladel**, who was to be thereupon declared Sultan of Palestine, a chimæra which the queen herself [p] prevented from being carried into execution, had there been no other opposition, and which had its foundation merely in ambition and policy. All that carries with it the slightest appearance of a partiality to the Christian religion, is the favour shewn to the Melchites at Alexandria by Hakem's father, who had married a wife of that persuasion, and had advanced her two brothers to different Patriarchates, and taken the principal church at Alexandria from the Jacobites to give it to the Melchites [q]. These latter, the least numerous, were the most orthodox among the Alexandrian Christians, holding the doctrine of the council of Chalcedon respecting the divine and human natures of Jesus Christ, and consequently their doctrine being most repugnant to that of Mahometism on the same subject, any degree of favor shewn to them by a Caliph might to those who were unacquainted with his real motives induce a suspicion of his wishing to reconcile the two religions. But, after all, this event happened in the reign of Hakem's father.

BEFORE I conclude, I cannot but observe, that among the many fine temples with which Pagan Alexandria was crouded from its earliest period, that of Serapis was most magnificent, and by Ammianus Marcellinus [r] equalled to the Capitol at Rome. We have a particular description of it by Ruffinus when relating its demolition by the Patriarch Theophilus A. D. 380, who built on its site a church and martyrion named after the emperor Arcadius and dedicated to John the Baptist [s].

[p] Bohad. p. 209. 219. Marin, Vie de Saladin, II. 323.

[q] Elmacin, p. 307. 308.

[r] xx. c. 16. Some ascribe it to Alexander the Great: others to Ptolomy son of Lagos. Le Beau, Hist. du Bas Empire, V. 245.

[s] Univ. Hist. xvi. 429. Le Beau, V. 353.

HERE all attempt to elucidate this monument rested. Upon its being purchased by Mr. Brander, the enquiry was resumed. Application was made to the late learned orientalist Mr. Costard, who had before been consulted by Mr. Ames, but for some particular reason had declined giving his opinion. On a second application to him by the reverend Mr. Hemming of Twickenham, F. R. S. he was pleased to favour the Society with the following explanation read before them April 5 and May 10, 1781.

Read April 5, 1781.

DEAR SIR,

THE inscription which you lately shewed me, I soon found by inspection to be the same that had been sent me to Oxford by Mr. Ames, then Secretary to the Antiquarian Society, with a request to interpret it. At Mr. Ames's death it was with the pillar on which it was inscribed purchased by Mr. West. And at his death it was purchased by Gustavus Brander, Esq. in whose possession it now is, and where I saw it but a very few years ago.

As to the inscription itself, it is of no great consequence, not being very old. It is dated A. H. 557, which answers to A. D. 1161, in the reign of our Henry II. The pillar on which it is engraved was a sepulchral monument erected for one Joseph, said to have been the son of Kalugh (قلوج) styled the *just judge*.

THIS Joseph perhaps was a boy, and died young, but whether he was or no would be an enquiry of little moment. What is more to our purpose is to observe, that affairs in Egypt were then in great disorder. The government of the Aliadæ was then

drawing towards a conclusion, and the next year was totally extinguished [1].

THE form of the letters will best be seen by the annexed description, which is taken very exactly from the pillar itself, with its dimensions. The letters may be, and commonly are denominated *Cufic* from Cufa, a city of Irac whose longitude according to Naffir Eddin Ettusi and Ulugh Beigh was $79^{\circ} 30'$ and latitude $31^{\circ} 30'$ north. In Chryfococca its longitude is only $69^{\circ} 30'$ and its latitude 31° . But this difference may easily be accounted for from the different position of their first meridian [u].

BUT though these letters are called by the general name of Cufic, yet it seems as if every lapidary, at least every country had its peculiar mode of forming them. Besides this of Egypt here given, I have one from Smyrna or Aleppo, and another from Sicily, all of which differ widely from each other, and from that elegant character in which later MSS. are written and books are printed.

WHAT is the true Cufic character may be seen in the last edition of Dr. Barnard's alphabets; an old MS. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and Niebhur's Travels. From all of which will appear the great difficulty of reading it especially to a person not a little used to it. For many of the letters are nothing more than short *brail* strokes, without any of those points called *diacritical*, whereby the sounds are distinguished in reading, and must be ascertained by the sense of the passage. Thus (i) may be read (!) B. or (i) T. or (i) T s, or (i) N.

No wonder therefore that when Mohammedanism first appeared, there were so few throughout *Arabia Felix* that could

[1] Abulfarag. Hist. Dynast. p. 262.

[u] See Hudson's Geograph. Minor. vol. III. p. 8.

read. So that there were persons who made it a profession and were called *كراة* *Karaa* or *Readers*.

THE first person who reformed this character is said to have been *Ebn Moklab*, who was vizier or secretary of state to *Al-Kaber* [x]. This was A. H. 321 or A. D. 932. But the person who gave them a farther degree of elegance was *Ebn Bowab*, who deserved a better fate than what he met with from a brutal tyrant. He died according to Abulfaragius A. H. 414, or A. D. 1023, just before the Norman conquest here in *England*. The diacritical points as already called were added afterwards, but when Scaliger, *Epist.* 243, says he cannot determine.

This inscription when translated runs thus:

In the name of God, merciful and gracious. To God belong power, duration, diuturnity and eternity. He is over all things the powerful.

I testify likewise that Mohammed is the apostle of God (God grant him favour and peace) the perfect and the high.

Joseph the son of Kalugh the just judge whose place be in happiness at the last day, died in the month Jomadie in the year 557.

As some of the letters on the pillar are broken or not very distinct, I will not be certain that I have read *اسوة* *aswa* right, or translated them properly the *perfect* and the *high*. The same may be said of the name of the month *يومان* *Jomadie* & *قلوج*, which having no diacritical points may be pronounced differently.

[x] See Abulfarag. *Hist. Dynast.* p. 192. &c.

I WOULD not hinder you, and therefore I have sent you this in somewhat rude a manner. You may stop it, and make what alterations you think proper. I am,

Dear Sir,

Your very faithful

and affectionate humble servant,

G. COSTARD.

Read May 10, 1781.

DEAR SIR,

TO what I have already said to you on the subject of the inscription in question, I shall now add a few things more which may be useful to be known, and yet not lying in every one's way.

I OBSERVED that the *Cufic* character having no diacritical points was very difficult to read, so that there were persons who made reading their profession. *Saladin*, a devout prince in his way, seems to have had such about him to read to him the *Korán*, as we learn from *Bobadin*, in his life pag. 6. and according to *Abulfaragius*, pag. 290. the Caliph *Al-Moktader* had with him judges, and (القراءة) *Alkara*, readers. So likewise *Al-Aziz*, Caliph of *Egypt*, had with him men of learning and readers [y]. These characters, it was said, were called *Cufic* from *Cufab*, a city in *Irac*; but it is marked in *De l'Isle's* map as at present in ruins.

It seems as if few people had perfect and intire copies of the *Korán*. In the few copies remaining in the *Cufic* character, the

[y] *Abulfarag.* p. 319.

paragraphs

paragraphs begin in the middle of the sentence, and many of them in the middle of a word. Instances of this we have in Niebhur's Travels. Where those paragraphs begin and end I formerly took some pains to discover, in order to compare them with the printed copies of the *Korán*, which would save a great deal of trouble to those that came after.

PLATE IV. begins with the word شهدا *witness*; the middle of chap. xxii. ver. 79. and ends with the middle of the word الفردوس *Paradise*, chap. xxiii. ver. 11.

PLATE V. begins with مثل *similitude*, the middle of ver. 74. of chap. xxii. and ends with رسول *apostle*, the middle of ver. 79. of the same chapter. Another instance of the same kind we have, as mentioned before, in an old fragment of the *Korán* in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. It is marked N^o 2. among Marfb's books, and seems to be the same that Greaves brought with him out of Egypt, as conjectured by Walton in his Prolegom to his Polyglott, cap. xiv.

It is agreed among the learned Arabians, says Ebn Calican, that the inventor of the *Arabic* letters was *Moramer Ebn Morra*, an *Anbarean*, from whence it was diffused over all the rest of Arabia. And this is farther said to have been but a little before the time of Mohammed, which we may date A. D. 622 [2].

THE word *anbar* signifies a *granary*. The town itself is said to have been built by Nebuchadnezzar, and lay on the Euphrates [a]. If this could be depended on, the town must have been a very old one.

MANY of the *Cusic* letters appear plainly to have been derived from the *Syriac*. And therefore this *Moramer*, though

[2] Pocock, Pref. to *Carmen Tograi*.

[a] See Golius, Not. in *Alfergan*. p. 124.

he passeth for the inventor, was, probably, no more than the copier, and introducer of this character into *Arabia Felix*.

NOTWITHSTANDING the improvements made in the form of the *Cufic* character, yet the Arabs, it seems, chose to continue the old form afterwards, and especially on their coins. The oldest that Hottinger (*De cippis Hebraic.* p. 140) says he ever saw was one of *Mofanfer Billab*. This was about A. H. 248, or A. D. 862. But David Mill in his *Dissertation de Moham-medan. ante Mohammed.* p. 36. produces one older than this, struck at *Bagdad*, by order of the Caliph *Aaron Rashid*, A. H. 188, or A. D. 803. And many years ago in my *Dissertation on the Kesitah*, p. 33, &c. I published one yet older than this, struck at *Wafit* a city of *Irac*, and built upon the *Tigris*, A. H. 88, or A. D. 706, which was but about twelve years after *Al Hegag* set up a mint of his own.

THIS was resented by the court at Constantinople. For if Zonaras may be depended on, the "Emperor Justinian made war upon the Saracens because they stamp the coins in which they paid their annual tribute not with *Greek* characters but the *new Arabic*. For it was not allowed, says he, to strike upon gold coins any characters but those made use of by the Greek emperors." The Arabs, therefore, it is plain by this, were now shaking off their dependence on the Greeks. A. H. 76, or A. D. 695, we are told by Elmacin, that Denarii and Drachmæ were coined with *Arabic* characters, for before that time the Denarii had their legends in *Greek*, and the Drachmæ in *Persic*. Upon *Al Hegag* setting up a mint, he stamp his Drachmæ with the words *الله معبد* *God is eternal*. But the matter at first was bad. It was mended from time to time afterwards, as I suppose they grew more powerful, till, at last, it was compleatly reformed by *Al Watbek*, who ascended the throne A. H. 227, or A. D. 841.

I HAVE

I HAVE now said every thing that I can think of as proper to illustrate the inscription in question. But you are at liberty to alter any part, or suppress the whole. I am,

Dear Sir,

your very faithful

and affectionate humble servant,

G. COSTARD.

THE Rev. Mr. Woide of this Society had also been desired to communicate a copy of this inscription to the learned Casiri, to whose care the MSS. of the Escorial are committed, and whose answer is here printed.

Viro clarissimo Carolo Godofredo Woide Michael
Casiri S. P. D.

INSPEXI quanta licuit cura et diligentia inscriptionem Arabico-cusicam, quam ad me mittere dignatus es. Sepulchralis quidem videtur; tametsi ejus sententiam perspecte nosse nequaquam finant et litterae detritae ac mutilae, et descriptio parum ut arbitror accurata. Nihilominus tamen non gravabor divinationem potius quam lectionem meam, Asiaticis litteris una cum Latina interpretatione, tecum communicare. Eam vides ad ipsius inscriptionis oram.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لله ا
لبقا هو الديان ... الدين
قبر خليغه ... لقيامته محمد
رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم
اشهد ... يوم القيامة ...
... سنت سبع وخمسين *

In nomine Dei miserentis et misericordis.
 Deo Eterno qui est iudex . . religio.
 Sepulchrum Khalifa . . ad diem resurrectionis.
 Profiteor . . . diem resurrectionis.
 Anno 507.

DE doctissimis lucubrationibus tuis, et praesertim lexico Aegyptiaco, impense gaudeo, tibi que gratulor. Doleo tamen vehementer, quod in labores utilissimos symbolam conferre nullam possim. Voluntas certe non deest: impediunt tamen orientalium codicum penuria, qui omnes in Bibliotheca Escorialensi aeternum exsulant.

VIVE diu, vir doctissime, ut tuis eruditis operibus Remp. litterariam locupletes atque exornes. Matrili III. Non. Julias MDCCLXXVIII.

AND that nothing might be wanting which could throw light on the subject, another illustration was obtained by the Rev. Mr. Waddilove, chaplain to the earl of Grantham, then his Britannick Majesty's ambassador to the court of Madrid, from the canon Pizzi professor of Arabic in the royal college of St. Isidoro at Madrid, to the following effect:

LA Inscricion Arabe remitida per el Sr. Waddilove es moderna, pero dificilissima de leer ya porque a la escritura le faltan los puntos Diacriticos, ya porque las mas dicciones estan en abreviarura: Con todo es del anno 507 dela Egira como consta dela data



سنة سبع وخمسمائة

El Renglon primero, hasta la mitad del segundo que esta escrito

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
 اللَّهُمَّ صَلِّ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ وَعَلَى آلِهِ
 وَوَالِدِهِ

f. traducido es

“ En Nombre de Dios el misericordiosísimo. A Dios pertenece,”
 ò, “ ès de Dios la Adoracion, la Paz.”

Tenia animo de interpretar otras voces, y de ella colegir lo que contiene: pero, mis muchas ocupaciones, en estos dias pasados, y mi indisposicion, no me permisen aplicarme a su descubrimiento, tanto mas laudable, quanto las que trae M^r. de Niebur, mucho mas legibles que esta, no las traduce, por no entender las, ni haber hablado en sus viages quien las leyese:

Vea vñ si puedo servir le en otra cosa y mande à su affeto servidore y amigo que S. M. B.

MARIANE PIZZI, (professor of Arabic
 in the Royal College of St. Isidro,
 Madrid.)

N. B. The word *Dice* in the inscription means that the word in the Cufic written *Alrathmani* should be pronounced *Arrathmani*.

VOL. VII.

D

THE

The engraving in plate I. was made from an original drawing by Mr. Baire for the purpose of circulation in order to obtain an elucidation of the inscription. But from a block in the possession of Thomas Astle, Esq. it appears that Mr. Ames had the inscription cut in wood probably with the like intention. This fac simile is by Mr. Astle's permission here exhibited.

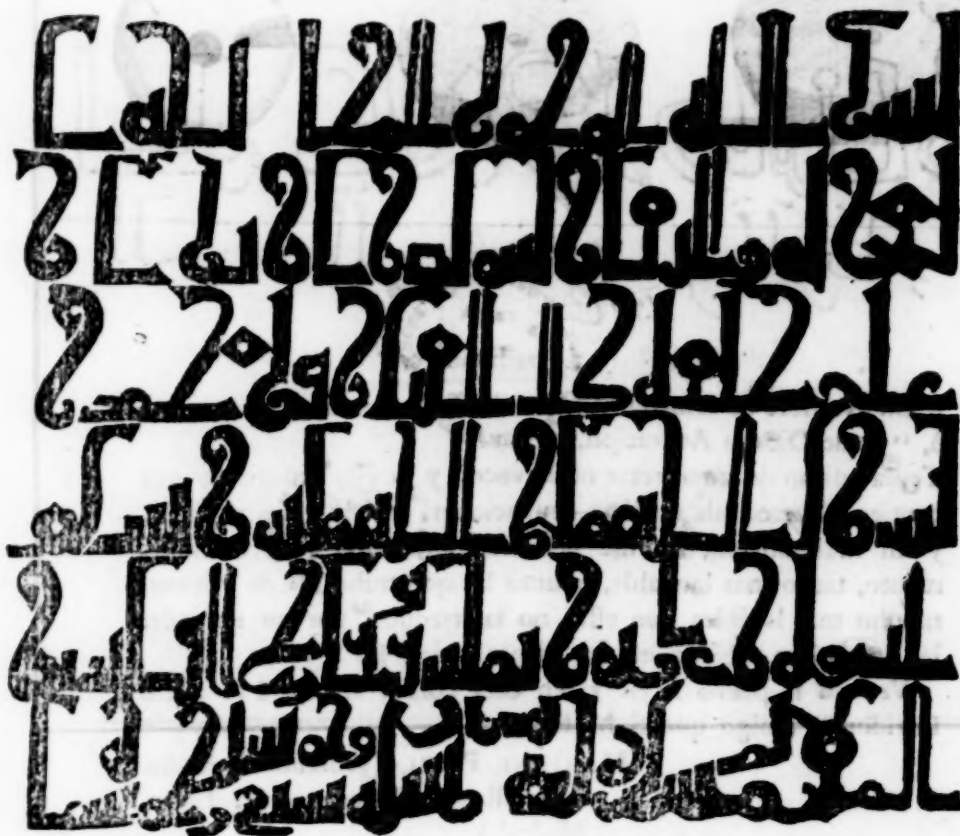
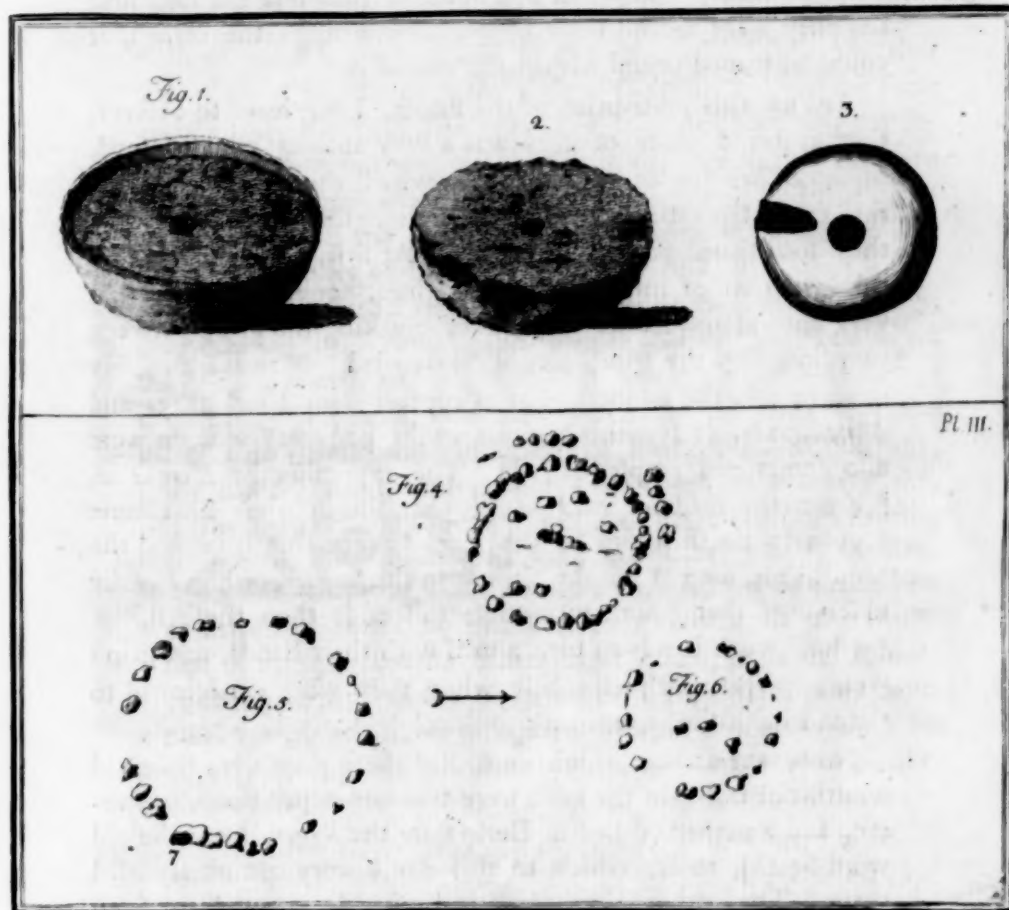


Illustration of some Druidical Remains in the Peak of Derbyshire, drawn by Hayman Rooke, Esq. By the Rev. Mr. Pegge.——Read May 10, 1781.

Vol. VII Pl. II.



Pl. III.

THE stones marked 1, 2, in plate II. were taken out of the ground about A. D. 1760, in removing a large stone at
D 2 Durwood

Durwood near *Hartle* moor in the *Peak*; they lay by the side of a large urn, half full of burnt bones. They are flat at top, but somewhat convex on the under sides, and fig. 2. which Mr. *Rooke* has in his possession, is about four inches and a half thick. They are about a foot diameter, but fig. 2. is so much less than the other, that when laid upon it (and one cannot doubt but they were intended to be placed one upon the other), it could be turned round within the rim of it.

AFTER this description of the stones, I beg leave to observe, that as bread made of corn was a very ancient kind of food, modes of bruising or grinding it, of which there might be several, must have been ancient too; though it must be owned they sometimes parched the corn. At first, no doubt, before the invention of mills, or other engines, for the purpose, that very natural and simple method of breaking the grain between two stones by the hand, would be applied. Men were mostly concerned in the business, but as appears from *Exod.* xi. 5. and *Matth.* xxiv. 41. (without citing other passages) women were also sometimes employed [a]! The expression in *Exodus* is, 'From the firstborn of *Pbaraoth* that sitteth upon his throne
' even to the firstborn of the maid-servant that is behind the
' mill,' meaning, from the highest to the lowest, bishop *Patrick* observing, that 'none were more miserable than those slaves,
' whose work it was to turn a mill with their hands, and grind
' corn perpetually; especially when they were condemned to
' this in a prison, nay, in a dungeon.'

Now, the stones which composed these primitive, rude and unartificial mills, in the east, were two: an upper stone, or *runner*, and a nether, called in Derbyshire the *ligger*, from the old word *lig* [b], to *lie*, which to this day is very commonly used there. These stones were small and portable, as we learn from

[a] See Dr. Shaw's *Travels*, p. 297.

[b] Dr. Littleton's Dictionary: 'tis the Saxon, *legan*; whence also comes our *lie*.
the

the practice of the *Arabs* and *Moors* at this time; for Dr. *Shaw* writes of the latter, 'most families grind their wheat and barley at home, having two portable grind-stones for that purpose, the uppermost whereof is turned round by a small handle of wood or iron, placed in the edge of it [c].' Not that the oriental millstones were always so small, for, as the same author says, when the stone was large, or expedition was required, a second person was called in to assist, and to this we have an allusion, *Matth.* xxiv. 41. 'Two women shall be grinding at the mill, the one shall be taken, and the other left.' The larger stones were often also wrought by asses [d].

To come nearer home, the *Britons* of our island, though they had but little corn in the interior part of the country, yet they had it elsewhere [e]. And this being the state of things even in *Cæsar's* time, one may reasonably presume, that the use of this wholesome and heartning food would, by degrees, grow more general, and extend itself over the whole island. We have accordingly some remains of millstones, as existing both among the *Romans* and the *Britons* here. As to the first, in the ruins at *Cookridge* Mr. *Thoresby* tells us, 'were found two or three millstones for grinding corn, which, by the smallness of the size (twenty inches broad) shew, that the *Romans* of those, as well as the *Egyptians* and *Jews* of former ages, made use of their slaves or captives for that employ [f].' This antiquary having one of these stones, has engraved it p. 162, and from thence we here give it fig. 3.

[c] Dr. Shaw, p. 296.

[d] Vide omnino Hutchinsonum ad Xenoph. Cyri Anab. p. 49.

[e] Essay on the coins of Cunobelin, p. 88. 95. 96.

[f] Thoresby, Ducat. Leod. p. 160.

HIS description goes as follows: 'These millstones are convex on one side, and near a third part thicker at the center than circumference; one of them, besides that in the midst, has a hollowed place to the very side, which, I suppose, was, for the iron that turned it about, and consequently was the runner [g].' He observes after, 'that he has the fragments of one dug up at the same place, which is of a different sort and colour, and is near as thick (about three inches) at the circumference, as the other are at the center; but this is not convex as they are; it has the *rows* yet remaining upon it, as in the fifth figure.' Dr. *Shaw* mentions no convexity in the stones which he saw in *Africa*, and therefore we may suppose them to have been flat like the last of those Mr. *Thoresby* speaks of [b].

THE *Britons*, as well as the *Romans*, used these hand stone mills, as may be inferred from the types of our stones above.

DRUIDICAL remains abound every where in this neighbourhood; and in particular there are three stone circles very near to where our millstones were found, as in plate II. N^o. 4. 5. 6. and on the stone, marked 7, at the entrance of the largest of them, there is a rock-bason; insomuch that one needs not scruple in the least to pronounce the millstones *British*, that is druidical [c].

WE conceive, that an iron spindle was fastened in the orifice of the fixed, or under stone, N^o. 1, and that the upper stone, when placed upon it, was kept steady in its position by a like orifice (which goes about half way through it), and by means of

[g] See his plate, p. 162.

[b] See Dr. *Shaw's* Description of the Moorish Stones above.

[c] Within the area of Bratton camp in Wiltshire which is supposed to have been occupied by the Danes in the reign of Alfred, have been found these kind of millstones sixteen and eighteen inches diameter. R. G.

the aforefaid spindle. A man or woman could easily work this little mill, by protruding and turning the runner backward and forward, or quite round, with both hands (for there are no handles here, as in Mr. *Thoresby's* or Dr. *Shaw's* stones), and as our upper stone weighs but twenty-six pounds, they could easily take it off, and particularly, when they had occasion to put fresh corn under. I look upon the rim in our under stone as an improvement in one respect, and Mr. *Thoresby's* and Dr. *Shaw's* handles, as an improvement in another view; since handles must needs facilitate the working of this sort of mill both to men and women [k].

I SHALL only add, that these manual mills continued long in use, where water was wanting [l]; and that as throwing persons headlong into the sea with a stone tied about the neck was a common punishment among the *Syrians* [m], manageable stones of this kind would be very proper for the purpose; and

[k] Mr. Pennant has engraved the manner of working the *quern* or handmill stones in the Hebrides. "This method, he observes, is very tedious, for it employs two pair of hands four hours to grind only a single bushel of corn. The landlord can oblige his tenants, as in England, to make use of the more expeditious method of grinding by watermills, and empowers his millar to search out and break any querns he can find as machines that defraud him of the toll. Many centuries ago the legislature endeavoured to discourage these awkward mills, so prejudicial to the landlords who had been at the expence of others. In 1284, in the time of Alexander III. it was provided that "na man sall presume to grind quheit, maishlock or rye in hand mylnæ except he be compelled by storme or be in lack of mills quhilk sould grinde the samen. And in this case gif a man grindes at hand mylnes he sall gif the threttein measure as multure, gif anie man contraveins this our prohibition he sall tine his hand mylnes perpetuallie." The quern or bra is made in some of the countries of the mainland, and costs about fourteen shillings." *Voyage to the Hebrides* 281. 286. pl. XXXIV.

[l] Du Fresno, v. Molendinum.

[m] Calmer. Dict. II. p. 484.

24 *Mr. PEGGE on the Druidical Remains in Derbyshire.*

if in that proverbial saying made use of by our Saviour, 'It
' were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his
' neck, and that he were drowned in the depth of the sea;'
if, I say, the expression there was not *μύλος ὄνικας*, *mola Afinaria*,
a stone of this size might properly enough be thought of, es-
pecially if perforated quite through.

III. *Historical Notes concerning the Power of the Chancellor's Court at Cambridge.*

By the Rev. Robert Richardson, D.D. F.A.S. late Rector of St. Anne's, Soho.

Read December 6, 1781.

To the Rev. Mr. Norris, Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries.

SIR,

A LATE determination of the Court of King's Bench in favour of a person who appealed to that court from a sentence of the vice-chancellor of Cambridge, induced our late worthy member the Rev. Dr. Richardson, to inquire into the origin and extent of the power of the vice-chancellor in that university: and the historical notes, which accompany this letter, were the result of that inquiry. He had just finished these notes, when he was attacked by a disease which ended fatally. They are now presented to the Society of Antiquaries, in pursuance of the author's desire, which he signified to me a few days before his death.

I am, Sir, your most obedient
and very humble servant,

GEORGE BAKER.

Jermyn-street,
Nov. 8, 1781.

CHARLEMAGNE is said to be the founder of the university of Paris. In the same sense Cambridge may claim a royal foundation: for Sigebert king of the East Angles in the seventh century retained a society of men of letters at his court. This society, it is said, was respected by Offa king of Mercia when he conquered the East Angles: and after various fortunes under the line of one prince or the other, settled at last at Cambridge; where, in default of the royal munificence, the learned men were constrained to open a school.

It is probable that there were teachers and scholars at Cambridge before the Conquest. In 1109 the greater part of the county of Cambridge was formed into a new diocese. All there was then at Cambridge of learned or unlearned persons transferred their spiritual submission from the bishop of Lincoln to the new bishop of Ely, to his official and archdeacon. The monks of Crowland arrived in 1110; and with them the authentic history begins.

THE bishops of Ely granted licences to these persons, and to others their successors, to teach the languages and sciences, or, in more modern terms, admitted them masters of arts. These masters did not, for some time, form a corps or legal association any more than the ordinary schoolmasters in a large diocese: but each for himself held his right of teaching and governing, *regnandi in scholis*, from the bishop's licence; which, for just cause, might be withdrawn.

It will not be denied that the masters at Cambridge, by living together in the same town, and distributing their labors in the several branches of science, so as to lend a friendly aid to the parent stock, would, in courtesy, obtain an high degree of credit and influence with the bishops of Ely, beyond any dispersed schoolmasters. Their united testimony in favour of a candidate would have great weight in procuring him a licence, and as in those

those days there were no masters who did not teach, no non regents, they were almost the only persons who could inform the absent bishop when a new teacher was wanted. These usages, in which they were liberally indulged, proved at last fatal to the bishop's power.

FROM 1110 to 1255, a space of 145 years, this society remained in a perfect state of internal quiet; rising daily in dignity and merit, without either asking or receiving any privilege or support from royal power, and there is little known of its internal government or police. This is surely a competent negative proof that it was governed by the common law of all schools and seminaries of learning; that is, by the ecclesiastical law of the diocese. That it really was so governed will appear positively hereafter, when it is seen that the subsequent change consists of nothing more than a discharge of the chancellor from the spiritual subjection to the bishop of Ely.

IN the mean time some light may be thrown on this argument from the transactions of 1231. It seems the multitude of scholars, *tam in cismarinis quam transmarinis partibus*, was greater than the town of Cambridge could well receive, which induced the townsmen to enhance the price of lodgings. This obliged king Henry III. to direct the mayor and bailiffs of the town to choose two liegemen, who with two masters of the scholars were empowered to fix the rate of lodgings, *secundum consuetudinem universitatis*, that is, according to the customary valuation in the whole realm. On the same year and day, the king issues his writ to the sheriff of the county, and directs him, that none be allowed the privilege of clerks in the town who were not under the discipline and tuition of a master of the scholars.

AT this period the society had no charter, and no name, unless perhaps it had assumed the name of *collegium*. Yet it appears, that two persons designed by the style of masters of the scholars are set on a level with two liegemen of the town, who

held by charter, and were chosen by the incorporation: and farther, that the privileges of the society were valuable, and sought by those who had no just claim to them; and tacitly allowed by the king to appertain to all such who resorted to Cambridge for the purposes of learning. No prince ever treated an usurped jurisdiction with such tenderness and regard; but many instances occur in which princes have interposed in a similar manner to stop the encroachments of ecclesiastical power.

IN 1249 the king writes again to the sheriff of the county, and inhibits him from taking and imprisoning the scholars *Cantabrigiæ commorantes ad mandatum cancellarii universitatis ejus*. This is the first time that the society is called an university.

At length the time came when the king was to appear more favourable to the university, and protect it against the severity of the sheriff. In 1255 the king granted the first charter to the university. The following brief to the sheriff, which is all that is extant at Cambridge, contains the substance of it: "Rex vice-
" comiti Cantabrigiæ salutem. Precipimus tibi quod ordinationes
" et provisiones contentas in literis nostris patentibus quas fieri
" fecimus cancellario et universitati scholarium Cantabrigiæ de
" assisa panis et vini, de hospitibus taxandis, de incarcerationibus
" clericorum ejusdem universitatis et coram deliberationibus [for-
" san, *deliberationibus*] ad mandatum dicti cancellarii faciendis,
" et de aliis commoditatibus et libertatibus eis per prædictas li-
" teras nostras concessis firmiter teneri et observari faciās, &c."

By this instrument the king plainly grants or confirms to the chancellor and university several privileges which were not therein of ecclesiastical right. The style of the society is Chancellor and University of scholars, of whom the chancellor is not one: but with respect to discipline nothing is said, but that the sheriff must not imprison any of the scholars, for they were all clerks, and under the jurisdiction of the ordinary: and this he had said before.

WE come now to the days of Hugh de Balsam, bishop of Ely, the munificent leader of the band of royal and noble founders of our present colleges: whose generous protection of the society affords much light on its constitution subsequent to the charter.

By his first act in 1265 he declares that he will not admit appeals from the chancellor of his university to himself, unless an appeal had been first lodged before the university, and justice been refused. By this concession he provided that all causes should be finally determined in the place.

IN 1276, the good bishop exempted the university from the jurisdiction of the archdeacon of Ely. In the course of the piece, which contains various matters, the following circumstances may be collected.

THAT the chancellor's court both imprisoned and expelled: the bishop is limiting the power of the magister Glomerie to the correction of trivial offences: he reserves to the sole judgment of the chancellor all causes *de facinoris enormis evidentia, ubi requiritur in carcerationis pœna vel ab universitate privatio.*

THAT the *crimen adulterii* was cognizable in the chancellor's court, for the bishop expressly provides that the wives of the scholars' servants &c. shall still be subject to the archdeacon's correction for this crime, though their husbands were not.

THAT the chancellor was the bishop's officer, on a rank with the archdeacon: "Constat," says the bishop, "*utrumque nobis esse immediate subiectum. Nolumus archidiaconum subesse cancellario, vel cancellarium archidiacono. Uterque virtute propria potestatis suam propriam familiam corrigit. Ita quod si necessarium fuerit superioris auxilium in iis de quibus ecclesia judicat, ad nos vel ad officialem nostrum recursus habeatur.*"

SUCH is the power of the earliest resident chancellors, and such the source from whence it sprung. They exercised the same

same ecclesiastical power after the charter as before, and owed the same submission to the bishop of Ely. In a few years after this, the chancellor was annually elected: but he was for many years presented to the bishop for confirmation, and that not as to a visitor but as to a diocesan; for an appeal lay from him to the prerogative court of Canterbury, as appears by the case of John de Donnewick chosen chancellor in 1362, confirmed by the bishop of Ely, and removed from office on the appeal.

THIS extraneous derivation of the chancellor's authority explains some very singular circumstances belonging to it. He has, from the highest records, an undisputed negative before debate, and yet with this great power he need not be a graduate, nor even a member of any college, or domiciliated in the place. Without a degree granted on the usual terms by his predecessor and the university he remains without a vote: for his office cannot confer that right: he is no associate of the masters, he is their undoubted superior.

THIS negative before debate serves to explain another circumstance in the nascent society. The masters probably began very early to concur on certain bye laws for the government of the students: but in doing this, they trod too close on that ecclesiastical authority which the church had vested solely in their diocesan, who was prepared to controul them and assert his right; they therefore fell upon an expedient to facilitate the attainment of their desires, and chose a committee to confer with the chancellor and engage his assent to the proposed regulations, not as of right but of favor. For here the proposal, when admitted, takes a new name, and is called *gratia*, or properly *gratia episcopi* or *cancellarii*. For this title it could not take from the regents, since no man or body of men ever called an act done for his own benefit by himself a favor. Such was the early

early power of the chancellor, with the *caput senatus*, not very unlike that of a king of Scotland with the lords of articles.

THE extreme jealousy with which the regents guarded these graces once returned from the farther controul of the chancellor is another proof of the foreign origin of his power. They ordered duplicates to be made of them, and a copy to be intrusted to the care of each of their proctors. They are all preserved in the proctor's books, which these officers carry about with them to all congregations, disputations, supplications, sermons, markets, and fairs, and never trust out of their sight; nor has the chancellor ever yet obtained a copy of these books, or any part of them; and the old concluding form of every grace is still preserved *ut procuratorum libris inscribatur*.

ONE may conclude from hence that the chancellor was to judge by his own professional law, civil or canon, for he knew no other: and that if by chance he offended against any bye law of the senate, to which his predecessors had assented, he would certainly be reminded of his mistake by the regents, and be obliged to retract.

It is probable that the form of admitting to degrees *viva voce* came into use with the resident chancellors instead of the former letters of licence; but the admission and licence were derived from the same authority, and the posture of kneeling denotes the respect due to an ecclesiastical superior.

IN 1401 archbishop Arundel visited the university as parcel of the diocese of Ely; and, soon after, pope Boniface IX. inhibited the bishop from all future claim of confirming the election of the chancellor. But this change was attended with no other consequence, than that the chancellor received his office, with all its rights, dignities, and authority, from the free choice of the senate, which he had formerly held as an antient officer of

the church and diocese; nor can it be imagined that the regents, had they desired it, could legally have changed any thing in the constitution of an antient known and received office and dignity, of which they were become simple patrons by the cession of the bishop and confirmation of the pope. It is remarkable, that, though the chancellor was at no time obliged to be a master of arts, he was at this time, and long after, obliged to be a clerk, and to preach before the university on the great festivals.

It is time to speak of the charters. Doubtless many and large privileges have been granted by the bounty of princes to the chancellor, masters, and scholars of the university of Cambridge, for that is its style. This complex title plainly denotes a difference of rank and subordination in the several members of the society, but the princes have no where told us wherein it consists. They found the distinction already established, and legally received, and known under the ecclesiastical authority of the bishop of Ely. There was no mayor at Cambridge till the king named one, and defined the limits of his power: but there had been an ecclesiastical person called a chancellor, who exercised a legal authority over the masters and scholars long before the king honoured the university with his royal protection, and this person is now decorated with the same title by his sovereign. Other privilege he received none; for the king's grace was to the whole, and not to any one part; nor is it possible to know what the king means by a chancellor, without recurring to the antient usages and constitution. There we find that the chancellor was a legal officer of the diocese of Ely, and when afterwards he ceased to be so, he owed his independence, not to the king's favor, but to the pope's.

FROM these charters, however, some have considered the chancellor as a civil magistrate, the regency as a franchise, and, by the same analogy, the *status pupillaris* might be turned into
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an apprenticeship. But words do not alter the nature of things, and there is one formulary still used by the chancellor, which is far from denoting the head of a feudal incorporation. The chancellor proclaims the two fairs in his own name, and not in the king's: the mayor of the town, who has a concurrent jurisdiction, proclaims the same fairs in the king's name, and not in his own.

THE absolution used at the end of term proves, that the chancellor continues still to be considered as an ecclesiastical person. Then only he uses the phrase, *auētoritate mihi commissā*. In conferring degrees, and in all other cases, he acts in his own name, and by his own inherent power.

Two points remain to be considered, the power of conferring degrees, and the power of taking them away.

THE present mode of conferring degrees proves, that this power was originally vested solely in the chancellor. It is indeed extremely limited at present, both by the necessity of obtaining the consent of both houses before admission, and by little less than an equal necessity of receiving the confirmation of the regent house after it.

THE first academical advance towards obtaining a degree, is made by a petition to the senate, called from the first word, a *supplicat*. It runs thus for a master's degree: *Supplicat reverentiis vestris A. B. ut novem termini completi, post finalem determinationem in artibus, sufficiant ei ad incipiendum in eadem facultate*. This formulary appears very antient. It is certainly older than the statute which regulates the terms necessary for each degree, for who, that could use his own language, would now request that nine terms may suffice, when every one knows that they must suffice? It is probably older than the resident chancellors; for a resident officer might have recourse to the register, and learn all that a direct answer to this request can tell him. It is

not unreasonable to suppose, that it prevailed during the government of the absent bishops of Ely, who, from condescension to the masters, might decline to grant a licence to any one who could not produce their testimony, that he had resided a competent time with good credit in the place. It now serves to prevent the chancellor from admitting without leave of the senate. The masters answer indirectly, and, by abuse, *placet* or *non placet*. They dare not answer directly *non suffieunt*, in open defiance of the statute.

THE *supplicat* being approved, the admission by the chancellor follows, and this admission confers the degree for every purpose but one; the new graduate is received in rank among his brethren, in the faculty to which he is advanced: he is allowed his privilege at Lambeth under the statute of Henry VIII. as it was allowed him by the papal power before, in all graces of the sovereign, in all courts of law, he is received by the style of his new acquired honor. In short, there is but one place where he is not received, and that is the regent house; for the few charter societies, who cannot by their local statutes receive him without a certificate under the seal of the university, form no separate exception; since the refusal rests only with the regents, who will not pass the grace for the seal, unless he is created.

CREATION then forms the ultimate restraint on the chancellor's power. It is this; on the new statutable day, the proctors, with as many of the regent masters as choose to attend, hold the *comitia* in the regent house; no chancellor presides, no non-regents are admitted, except by a courtesy which is extended equally to the ladies. The professors of the superior faculties enter the senate house, preceded by a beadle, and followed by their sons, the doctors of the new year, in their congregational robes, who all take their seats, and rank together above the proper

proper regent house, till the senior proctor rises, and calls to the professor of theology in these words, *venerande pater, ad creationem*. The professor then takes the chair at the head of the regent house; the same chair, to which the chancellor now descends to receive those who are presented to him for admission, or to address himself to the senate. He next proceeds to his office, and creates, salutes, and pronounces all, and each of his sons, professors, and doctors. The proctor in the mean time takes an oath of each person, that he will observe his regency, *i. e.* that he will reside three years (unless dispensed with by the regent house), read his lectures in term, attend all congregations in his place, and submit to some other lesser restraints.

WHAT the professors of theology, law, and medicine do by the proctor's authority, the proctors next proceed to do by their own, and create the masters of arts; and with something less of ceremony, but with more real, because more original power, exact five years residence, instead of three. Many of these ancient usages are now confirmed by the royal statutes, or more properly restrained.

THE popular, or, if one may be allowed to say, the tumultuary origin of this assembly, is very apparent. There is no regular beginning to it, no number of regents is necessary to transact the business. The professors put themselves in the proctor's way one knows not how, without being called; and when they do not appear, nobody asks for them. There is no formal dismissal to this assembly, but when all are created, and the business is done, every one finds his way home; most commonly, the proctors, beadle, and junior masters of the year, are left by themselves.

IT seems then, that the use now made of the *supplicat* is a secondary service, very different from that which it was at first meant to perform, that the present answer of the masters is

vague, indeterminate, artificial, and extravagant, and that the whole bears strong marks of an encroachment on the chancellor's authority. That the creation by the proctors was meant to serve a local convenience, and is of little use, except in the regent house. There probably was a time, when this creation by the regents conferred more popular honor in the republic of letters, than the act of the single magistrate; but popular applause gives no claim to legal rights, except in Parnassus. This is certain, that the act of creation is not considered as necessary, either by the sovereign, by the law, by the professions, or by any authority, except that of the regents. In the mean time the chancellor appears with dignity; his act is authoritative, faithful, undissembling, and effective: his words are determinate and true, capable of no other construction, but that which he intends, and present themselves with the compleat ensigns of an original legal power. The assent to the *supplicat* is indeed a real, but usurped election, still artfully concealed under the original forms of certificate, or testimonial. The professors and proctors do nothing but proclaim to the people what was well and effectually done before.

SUCH was the antient power of the chancellor in granting licences, or conferring degrees. To this power the right of withdrawing his licence, and resuming the degree, was invariably and permanently annexed by the earliest ecclesiastical constitution of this church and state. He gave the licence on sufficient, though private testimony of merit; he withdrew it on the public testimony of demerit proved before him in his open court. The free exercise of the power of conferring degrees is lost, while the form only remains to shew what it once was; and it is now impossible to trace those gradual advances of the senate, so accurately, as to discover how he lost it. Yet he must be presumed to hold what once was his, and what is not known
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by ostensible evidence to have been freely relinquished by him, or legally taken from him. The parties who were thus zealously, and, no doubt, honourably engaged about the admission to degrees, neither could nor would have adopted the same vigorous measures, in order to obstruct the public process of a just and necessary act of degradation.

IN the first case, the knowledge of the fitness of any person for the office of a teacher, or the honour of a degree, came first to the bishop and his chancellor from the testimony of the masters of the university. The regent's oath was plainly the consequence of the idle and dishonourable behavior of many persons, subsequent to the admission by the chancellor, whom the regents thought proper to compel to their duty by new and more penal sanctions:

BUT nothing of this kind was likely to interfere with the right of withdrawing the licence, or degrading an unworthy person from honour and confidence. The ecclesiastical court was open and ready to lend a patient ear to the plaint of every individual, lettered or unlettered, master or scholar, artizan, citizen, or peasant: and no act of the academic society could or would withhold the arm of justice. At this very day the bishops do never grant licence, without the testimony of the parochial clergy to the fitness of the candidate; but surely no legal court, in any age or country, would regard the opinion of a neighbourhood, however respectable, in opposition to the circumstantial evidence of unprejudiced witnesses.

IN fact, the regent masters or senate of the university have interfered very little with the power of the chancellor's court.

FULLER mentions, that in 1294, the regents forbade the chancellor to imprison or banish any regent without leave of their house. This may fairly be called, club-law. The regents had refused the use of the schools to the masters admitted by the
chancellor,

chancellor, till they had taken a new oath to them; and indeed the importance of such a security to the credit of learning, and of the place, might well justify the demand, and obtain the acquiescence and submission of the parties concerned. They now continued the use of the schools of which they keep the key (for more they could not do) to every unworthy master who was degraded and expelled by a known and legal judicature. Would the parties, then, mocked and defeated in the suit, submit? especially at a time when there lay an appeal from the bishop's court to the prerogative court of Canterbury? We may be sure that the degraded person would no longer be acknowledged either by the church or state; and, though the regents might place him in the chair, recent experience will prove, that no scholars would disgrace themselves by attending him. If ever this was the practice, it was of no long continuance; at least, the statutes of queen Elizabeth have thrown it out of the present question.

For the present restraint on the chancellor's judicial power arises solely from queen Elizabeth's statutes, and to them we must now resort. It should be observed, in passing, that the university had provided some aid to the court before, in the appointment of a gentleman learned in the common law, to be assessor to the chancellor. This office is still continued, and the very learned Mr. Andrew Pemberton of the Inner Temple was, in this very year, chosen to it.

To understand the statutes of queen Elizabeth, one should recollect the time and circumstances under which they were given. The university was at that time governed by its local customs of acknowledged antiquity, and by its bye-laws, called *graces*; in aid to the canon and civil law which was much studied at that time, and the grand rule of the chancellor's court. The pope and the parliament had at times granted it some favors,

and the crown had, by charters, placed it over the incorporations of the town in the fairs, the markets, and the watch; but the crown had given no rule or law whatever for the interior government of the society. The chancellors had, from the time of the election of Fisher, bishop of Rochester, been either bishops, or noblemen, who were habitually absent, and the whole power of the office, during the chancellor's absence, was presumed to reside in a vice-chancellor, annually elected by the senate. The university had suffered no other reform at the beginning of the century than what resulted from the national reform of religion. Such was the legal situation of this learned society; to which should be added, that many persons were justly supposed to adhere secretly to the old superstitions.

IN this situation of things, it pleased her majesty to interpose her royal authority, which indeed was much wanted. But she never meant to abrogate the old laws; for she expressly confirms them, as far as they are consistent with the established religion, and her own new statutes and regulations. She supplies some deficiencies which the abolition of the papal pomp had left void; but her professed design was, to put various restraints on the popular elections of the senate, and to temper and qualify these by putting an equal restraint upon the personal authority of the chancellor.

THIS is done by raising up a new aristocratic power in the place, and throwing the weight which was taken from either scale into the hands of the masters of private colleges.

THESE gentlemen had, at all times, been received with that deference which is due to superior merit, confirmed by the approbation of those who knew it best. But the constitution of private colleges was purely eleemosynary, the government domestic and parental: nor were the masters any more than the
deacons,

deans, or lectures of these seminaries, admitted to any higher rank or trust in the university than what they derived from their academical degrees. They had been regarded with more than common attention during the late visitations. For though learning presented herself boldly to these inspectors in the public schools; enthusiasm and superstition were supposed alternately to lurk in the chapels of private colleges; and as a Wicliffe's Bible, or a statue of our Lady of Grace, were the grand prizes for which these archiepiscopal and royal visitants were in search, they generally applied themselves to the masters of colleges; and the conduct of these gentlemen was of more than ordinary concern to the general interest of the university.

HER majesty too had occasion to make many enquiries concerning religion; and whether by this means she became early acquainted with the heads of colleges, or their superior merit presented itself in the foremost rank, it is certain, that she placed her chief confidence in this order; and these persons, under the sanction of her royal favor, are become a kind of upper assembly, and standing council to the chancellor.

For instance, her majesty confirmed the assumed rights of the vice-chancellor, and directed him to act in all cases, during the chancellor's absence, with the full authority of his superior: but as the election to this office was popular, she was pleased to change it, and order, that the masters of colleges should name two persons, of whom the senate is allowed to choose one.

THE antient constitution, and use of the *caput senatus*, has been seen above. The queen regulates the number, and the respective ranks of these persons; the vice-chancellor and proctors do each of them prepare a separate list of persons duly qualified; and from these three lists, the heads of colleges form the *caput*, and, what is more remarkable, she has given to every member of the *caput* thus constituted that negative before debate,

bate, which was the sacred and incommunicable pledge of the chancellor's original and independant authority.

BUT the particular, which more especially regards the present question, is the restraint on the chancellor's judicial rights. The chancellor's court can no longer act in certain cases, without the consent of a majority of the heads of colleges. This distinction obliged her majesty to specify what these cases were: and this seems to be the principal design of that part of the forty-second chapter of her majesty's statutes, which relates to the discipline and regular government of the place.

IT begins with a short mention of civil actions, which her majesty leaves much as she found them, to be determined by the civil law and the customs of the university, but in a very summary way. No advocate or proctor can be employed, but the party must plead for himself, except he is *in statu pupillari*, and then he is allowed the service of his tutor. It then proceeds to honors and dishonors, and charges the due rewarding of merit in conferring degrees, and the rejecting the unworthy in such terms, upon the conscience of the chancellor, as if the queen really thought that all these things were still subject to his discretion. It falls at last upon matters of discipline, and her majesty delivers over to the chancellor, *ignavos, grassatores, rei suæ dissipatores, contumaces nec obedientes, suspensione graduum, carcere, aut alio leviori supplicio, suo judicio castigandos*. She then corrects herself, and adds, *non licebit tamen aliquem scholarem exilio mulctare, nec aliquem piliatorum aut præfectorum collegiorum incarcerare, absque consensu majoris partis præfectorum collegiorum*. That it was not her intention to enumerate the several species of crimes to be henceforth cognizable in the chancellor's court is evident. 1. Because what she mentions are not crimes. They are evil habits punishable by the civil and canon law; and, as they are susceptible of various degrees of criminality, they are

very properly left to the discretion of the court. 2. Because she observes that the power of banishing or expelling belongs of right to the court, and never mentions any one mode of conduct for which this punishment can be inflicted: 3. Because she mentions many new offences afterwards in the 47th chapter, *De modestiâ morum*.

THE very slight notice taken of civil processes at the beginning of the chapter, and the abrupt mention of the power of expulsion, which her majesty does not confer on the court, but acknowledges to appertain to it, are plain references to the antient laws and customs of the society. The whole passage leaves the government and correction of all persons in the university to the antient jurisdiction of the chancellor, with two exceptions; that he can no longer inflict the *ultimum supplicium*, expulsion, on any person whatever; nor proceed so far as imprisonment when the party convicted is either a master of arts, or master of a college, without the consent of a majority of the heads of colleges.

It does not appear that the power of the chancellor's court has suffered the least change by this statute. For all that the chancellor could do before, by following his own judgement, or the advice of his assessor, he now pronounces to be done with the advice and consent of a majority of the masters of colleges. The crimes cognizable in this court are with some addition in the 47th chapter the same as they were before. The rule and law of the court, except where her majesty has specified the penalty, is the same as it was before. The civil and ecclesiastical law, the antient customs and graces of the university are still enforced, and continued invariably in use to this day, and obtain a ready acquiescence and submission from all orders and degrees of persons in the place.

For, lastly, it appears that the chancellor's court has, as well before the queen's statutes as since, continued in the constant exercise

exercise of the power of degrading and expelling, as well masters and doctors as scholars *in statu pupillari*. In 1279, 1294, and 1430, it imprisoned and expelled. The same powers are avowed by the queen to be still permanently subsisting, and the cases of Mr. William Whiston in the beginning of this century, and of Mr. Tinckler Duckett about 1740, are in every one's memory. The sentences did not only deprive these gentlemen of their votes in the senate of the university, but the one of a professorship, and the other of a fellowship in Caius college.

To conclude; the design of this historical deduction is to shew, that the original power of the chancellor of Cambridge is purely ecclesiastical, derived to him as representative of his antient diocesan the bishop of Ely. This power existed in full energy over the place long before there were either school, college, or university there; and the benign mother of many sons was born under it. To this power all manner of persons who opened schools for the instruction of youth were indisputably subservient, and indeed remain so to this day saving such cases as are excepted in the acts of toleration.

THIS power is not given by the princes in their charters. It is acknowledged by them. It is not conferred by the masters of the university. It is obeyed by them. The chancellor licences and deprives, he admits, suspends, degrades, and expels: he absolves, he grants probates of wills, and would doubtless have exerted his right of granting licences of marriage, if any of the sex had been under his jurisdiction; nor has he at any time done, or attempted to do, any thing which is not plainly derived from his ecclesiastical authority. He does indeed take up and confine lewd women who disturb his society, but this also was solely the province of the bishop to the time of the reformation, and remains a matter of ecclesiastical cognizance and

correction to this day, *pro salute animae*. Perhaps it will be found from the many clauses in the statutes, which, by the indulgence of parliament, save the privileges of the university, that he retains a greater force of ecclesiastical authority than any ordinary judge in those courts.

It may still be objected that the university lays claim to a civil and criminal jurisdiction at common law. It may be so, several ecclesiastical persons, the bishops of Durham and of Ely, the deans and chapters of Peterborough and Westminster have such jurisdictions, which they exercise without compromising their ecclesiastical dignities by patent officers, reserving nothing to themselves but the bare patronage of the offices. The university of Cambridge is not necessarily an ecclesiastical society, though it is subject to an ecclesiastical chief; for the legitimate power of the chief is prior to the establishment of the university, and independant of it. For the administration of all laic and unacademical services the university has proper officers, an high-steward, taxers, &c. and, in one instance at least, requires the ministry of the mayor, aldermen, and burgeses of the town. With all these businesses the chancellor is wholly unconcerned. He appoints a commissary of his court, like other chancellors.

WHENEVER therefore the power of the chancellor is questioned, it is to be presumed that he can do all and every thing which any ecclesiastical judge is authorized to do in causes of correction over persons unquestionably within his jurisdiction; nor can the franchise, any more than the freehold, prevent either of them from removing a profligate regent, clerk, or school-master, from the honorable trust of which he has proved himself unworthy.

WHOEVER wishes to plead any thing in abatement of this original power, should shew at what time, in what manner, and
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by what superior authority it has been reduced, either by a grace of the senate, to which the chancellor has consented, or by a royal statute, to which, with due allegiance, he thinks himself obliged to submit.

P. S. At the end of the 27th chapter of the queen's statutes is the following detached law; the preceding passage relates to appraisers and pawnbrokers.

Qui famosum libellum, five domi, five foras ignarus repererit, aut corrumpat, aut igni tradat, antequam alter inveniatur: qui vero alteri fateatur inventum, et vim illius declaraverit, sciat se tanquam auctorem delicti puniendum, et universitate expellatur.

HERE is no possible distinction of bond or free, of scholar, master, or doctor. This is probably a law of her majesty's own invention, and arms the chancellor's court with unprecedented terrors. We ought, however, to take her royal word, that the author of a libel himself was liable to expulsion in the chancellor's court, by the civil law, and the custom of the place, before the publication of these statutes; nor can he indeed be expelled by any thing but the same old laws at present.

IV. *Observations on the Practice of Archery in England.**In a Letter to the Rev. Mr. Norris, Secretary.**By the Honourable Daines Barrington.*

Read February 27, 1783.

DEAR SIR,

AS some of our most signal victories in former centuries were chiefly attributed to the English archers, it may not be uninteresting to the Society if I lay before them what I have been able to glean with regard to the more flourishing state of our bowmen, till their present almost annihilation.

THIS fraternity is to this day called the Artillery company, which is a French term signifying archery, as the king's bowyer is in that language styled *artillier du roy*, and we seem to have learnt this method of annoying the enemy from that nation [a], at least with a cross-bow [b].

[a] The term of butt or mound of earth on which the marks are fixed is likewise French.

[b] By the late publication of Domesday it appears that *Balistrarius* was a most common addition to English names, but I have not happened to meet with that of *Arcitenens*. See in Suffolk, Warwickshire, Gloucestershire, and some more counties. In the Bayeux tapestry indeed the Normans are represented as drawing the long bow, but it is conceived that this *arras* was woven many centuries after the Norman invasion, and when that weapon was used in France.

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WE therefore find that William the Conqueror had a considerable number of bowmen in his army at the battle of Hastings, when no mention is made of such troops on the side of Harold. I have upon this occasion made use of the term *bowman*, though I rather conceive that these Norman archers shot with the Arbalest (or cross-bow) in which formerly the arrow was placed in a groove, being termed in French a quadrel, and in English a bolt [c].

THOUGH I have taken some pains to find out when the shooting with the long-bow first began with us, at which exercise we afterwards became so expert, I profess that I cannot meet with any positive proofs, and must therefore state such grounds for conjecture as have occurred.

OUR chroniclers do not mention the use of archery as expressly applied to the cross, or long-bow, till the death of Richard the First, who was killed by an arrow at the siege of Limoges in Guienne, which Hemmingsford mentions to have issued from a cross-bow [d]. Joinville likewise (in his life of St. Lewis) always speaks of the Christian *balistarii*.

[c] Hence the term, *I have shot my bolt*. This sort of arrow is now chiefly used in Norfolk, where it is useful in shooting rabbits, which do not take a general alarm as upon firing a gun.

Fitz Stevens, who wrote in the reign of Henry the Second, says that the London skaters moved faster than *telum baliste*, which seems to prove that the cross-bow was most commonly used at that time.

[d] Du-Cange cites Guist an ancient French poet for the same fact, and Vinefauf mentions that this king killed many Turks with his own cross-bow, l. 3. c. 111. It is not from these facts presumed that neither English or French ever used any sort of long bow at this period, but only that it did not prevail so much, as to train the archers in companies, in the manner that the Arbalesters were disciplined. It is not stated from what bow the arrow issued which killed William Rufus. In Shakespear's time deer were killed by the cross-bow. See Hen. VI.

AFTER this death of Richard the First in 1199, I have not happened to stumble upon any passages alluding to archery for nearly one hundred and fifty years, when an order was issued by Edward the Third, in the fifteenth year of his reign [e], to the sherives of most of the English counties for providing five hundred *white* bows, and five hundred bundles [f] of arrows, for the then intended war against France.

SIMILAR orders are repeated in the following years, with this difference only, that the sheriff of Gloucestershire is directed to furnish five hundred painted bows, as well as the same number of white [g].

THE famous battle of Cressly was fought four years afterwards in which our chroniclers state that we had two thousand archers, who were opposed to about the same number of the French together with a circumstance, which seems to prove, that by this time we used the long-bow, whilst the French archers shot with the arbalest.

PREVIOUS to this engagement fell a very heavy rain, which is said to have much damaged the bows of the French, or perhaps rather the strings of them. Now our long-bow (when unstrung) may be most conveniently covered, so as to prevent the

[e] A. D. 1341. See Rymer. Before this, Froissart mentions four thousand English archers in 1327, and two thousand at the battle of Cayent in 1337.

[f] *Garbas*, which Du-Cange shews to have consisted at a medium of twenty-four arrows. By another order (in Rymer) it appears that the *white* bows were six pence cheaper than the painted ones.

[g] The painted bows were considered probably as smarter by this military corps, and possibly this covering might contribute to duration also. As for the white bows, it should seem that they were not made of yew, which is rather of a reddish brown, nor could the sheriff well have found a sufficient quantity of this material in his county. We find indeed by subsequent statutes that yew was imported for this purpose at a very high price. For these order to the sherives see Rymer, A. D. 1342 and 1343.

rain's injuring it, nor is there scarcely any addition to the weight from such a case; whereas the arbalest is of a most inconvenient form to be sheltered from the weather.

As therefore in the year 1342, orders issued to the sherives of each county to provide five hundred bows, with a proper proportion of arrows, I cannot but infer that these were long-bows, and not the arbalest.

We are still in the dark indeed when the former weapon was first introduced by our ancestors, but I will venture to shoot my bolt in this obscurity, whether it may be well directed or not, as possibly it may produce a better conjecture from others.

EDWARD the First is known to have served in the holy wars, where he must have seen the effect of archery from a long-bow [b] to be much superior to that of the arbalest, in the use of which, the Italian states, and particularly the Genoese, had always been distinguished [c].

THIS circumstance would appear to me very decisive, that we owe the introduction of the long-bow to this king [k], was it not to be observed, that the bows of the Asiatics (though differing totally from the arbalest) were yet rather unlike to our long bows in point of form [l].

[b] It appears by Procopius that the Persians used a bow which was drawn in the same manner that is used by our archers, "ἐκείναι δὲ αὐτοὶς παρὰ το μίωπον ἢ νεύρα, παρ' αὐτοὺς μάχιστά των ὤλων, το δὲ ζιον. L. 1.

[c] In 1373 a French ordonance makes mention of Genoese arbalestiers, as being in their service.

[k] I hope to have proved in the first volume of the Archaeologia that the magnificent castles built by Edward the First, were similar to those of the Holy-Land.

[l] Our long-bow also differs materially from Diana's or Cupid's bows, as well as from those of the Daci on the Trajan and Antonine columns. It is likewise called in several ancient statutes the *English bow*.

THIS objection therefore must be admitted; but still possibly, as the Asiatic bows were more powerful than the arbalest, some of our English crusaders might have substituted our long-bows in the room of the Asiatic ones, in the same manner that improvements are frequently made in our present artillery. We might consequently, before the battle of Crefey, have had such a sufficient number of troops trained to the long-bow, as to be decisive in our favour, as they were afterwards at Poitiers and Agincourt [m].

THE battle of Poitiers was fought A. D. 1356, four years after which a peace took place between England and France.

WHEN treaties are concluded, it generally happens that both nations are heartily tired of the war, and they commonly are apt to suppose, that no fresh rupture will happen for a considerable time, whence follows the disuse of military exercises, especially in troops which were immediately disbanded upon the cessation of hostilities, and the officers of which had no half-pay.

WE find accordingly, that in the year 1363, Edward the Third was obliged to issue an order, forbidding many rural sports [n], and injoining the use of archery, which even in the space of four years had begun to be neglected; this order was again repeated in 1365.

THE Black Prince died in 1373, and Edward survived him but four years: we cannot therefore expect any further regulations for promoting archery, after the last order which I have stated, and which issued in 1363. During the six first years of

[m] In both these battles the archers of England destroyed the French cavalry, and in the latter are said to have drawn arrows a yard long.

[n] As "jactus lapidum, lignorum, ferri, pilam manualement, pedivam, et bacularem, canibucam, et gallorum pugnam." See Rymer, A. D. 1363.

this interval, the Prince of Wales was in foreign parts, and the whole ten were the dregs of Edward's life.

RICHARD the Second, who succeeded, is well known to have little attended to the cares of government; in the fifteenth year however of his reign (A. D. 1392) he issued an order, directing all the servants of his household never to travel without bows and arrows, and to take every opportunity of using this exercise [e], which injunction seems to prove that it had during the greater part of his reign been much neglected.

HENRY the Fourth, though of a more warlike disposition, seems to have done little more for the encouragement of archery than his predecessor, as the only statute of his reign which relates to this head, goes no further than obliging the arrow-smiths to point their arrows better, than they had hitherto done.

THE wars during his reign were indeed confined to this country, but the use of archers seems to have been well known, as the duke of Exeter, at the beginning of his rebellion, entertained a considerable band of them [p]. Four-score archers are said also to have contributed greatly to a victory of this same king over a large body of rebels at Cirencester, some of which seem to have been of an Amazonian disposition, as his majesty attributes this success to the good women, as well as men of this town, and for these their services, grants them annually six bucks and a hogthead of wine [q].

[e] See Rymer's Fœd. A. D. 1392. In the twelfth year indeed of this king's reign, an act passed to oblige servants to shoot with bows and arrows on holidays and Sundays. See Rastell's Statutes.

By the 6 Hen. VIII. c. 2. all male servants must provide themselves with one bow, and four arrows, which their master is to pay for, by stopping it out of their wages.

[p] See Grafton, who informs us also that the Prince of Wales was wounded in the face by an arrow at the battle of Shrewsbury.

[q] See Rymer's Fœd. A. D. 1400.

I do not find any act of parliament of Henry the Fifth in relation to this exercise; and all the orders in Rymer, till the battle of Agincourt, relate to great guns, from which he seems at first to have expected more considerable advantage, than from the training of bowmen [r].

It should seem, however, that this sort of artillery from its unwieldiness, bad and narrow roads, together with other defects, was as yet but of little use in military operations. In the year 1417 this king therefore ascribes his victory at Agincourt to the archers, and directs the sherives of many counties to pluck from every goose [s] six wing feathers for the purpose of improving arrows [t], which are to be paid for by the king [u].

A SIMILAR order again issues to the sherives in the following year, viz. 1418.

IN 1421, though the French had been defeated, both at Crefey, Poictiers, and Agincourt, by the English archers, yet they still continued the use of the cross-bow, for which reason Henry the Fifth, as duke of Normandy, confirms the charters and privileges of the balistarii, which had been long established as a fraternity in his city of Rouen [w].

[r] See an order, "De equis pro cariagio gunnorum regis capiendis," "Pro operationibus ingeniorum", et "De non transmittendo gunpoudre versus partes exterar," A. D. 1413.

[s] "Præter aucas brodoges," which possibly means geese that were sitting or taking care of their goslings; we now say brooding.

[t] "Magis congruas et competentes."

[u] I am told by an arrow-maker that these six feathers should consist of the second, third, and fourth of each wing. It is to be observed, that his majesty was not very munificent in paying for these feathers, as in the year 1417, there was little or no demand for pens, to which use at present they are almost solely applied. See Rymer's Fœd. A. D. 1417.

[w] See Rymer's Fœdera.

DURING the long reign of Henry the Sixth, I do not meet with any statute, or proclamation concerning archery, which may be well accounted for, whilst this king was under age, or the weakness of mind which ensued, as far at least as relates to his personal interference in this matter; but it is rather extraordinary, that his uncles should not have enjoined this exercise, as they were so long engaged in wars with France, the loss of which kingdom may be perhaps attributed to this neglect.

It was necessary for Edward the Fourth, who succeeded, to be prepared against the Lancastrians; and yet we find much earlier statutes for the promotion of archery in Ireland [x], than in England, which was more likely to become the scene of civil war.

IN the fifth year therefore of his reign an act passed, that every Englishman, and Irishman dwelling with Englishmen, shall have an English bow of his own height, which is directed to be made of yew, wych, hazel, ash, or awburne [y], or any other *reasonable* tree according to their power. The next chapter also directs that butts shall be made in every township, which the inhabitants are obliged to shoot up and down every feast day, under the penalty of a halfpenny, when they shall omit this exercise [z].

IN the fourteenth year however of this same king, it appears by Rymer's *Fœdera*, that one thousand archers were to be sent to the duke of Burgundy, whose pay is settled at six pence a day, which is more than a common soldier receives clear in the pre-

[x] The English statutes of Edward IV. to this purpose are those of the seven-teenth ch. 3, and twenty-second ch. 4, of the same king, in the preamble to the first of which it is said, "that the defence of this land was much by archers, and" "in the second," "that victorious acts have been accomplished by archers."

[y] *Alder* probably.

[z] See the collection of Irish statutes, Dublin, 1723.

sent times, when provisions are so much dearer, and the value of money is so much decreased. This circumstance seems to prove, very strongly, the great estimation in which archers were still held. In the same year, Edward preparing for a war with France, directs the sherives to procure bows and arrows, "as most specially requisite and necessary [a]."

As bows and arrows were however finally disused by the introduction of fire arms, it becomes necessary, in this investigation, to take some short notice of what may relate to ordnance, or musquetry, and that Edward soon afterwards directs all workmen who might be useful for *artillery*, (as we should now term it) to be preferred [b]. On the war taking place with Scotland, eight years after this, Edward provides both ordnance and archers, so that though the use of artillery was now gaining ground, yet that of the bow and arrow was not neglected.

THE succeeding reign of Richard the Third opens with a similar statute to that of Edward the Fourth, but directs that all Venetian ships [c] shall with every butt of Malmsey, or Tyre [d], import ten bowstaves, as the price had risen from forty shillings to eight pounds a hundred.

By this attention to archery, he was able to send one thousand bowmen to the duke of Bretagne in the year following [e].

[a] See Rymer.

[b] Ibid.

[c] As also from other neighbouring ports of the Mediterranean, it is believed that there is considerable quantity of yew to be procured in Dalmatia, which lies on the eastern side of the Adriatic, and almost opposite to Venice. We were obliged to import foreign yew, as I do not recollect to have seen this tree in any part of England, with the appearance of its being indigenous.

[d] These wines came chiefly from Creete, which at this time belonged to the Venetians. See 7 Hen. VII. c. 7.

[e] See Rymer's Foed.

and availed himself of the same troops at the battle of Bosworth [*f*].

I do not find a single order of Henry VII. (in Rymer's *Fœdera*) relative to gunpowder or artillery, whilst on the other hand, in 1488 he directs a large levy of archers to be sent to Brittany, and that they shall be reviewed before they embark. In the nineteenth year of his reign, this same king [*g*] forbids the use of the cross-bow, because "the long-bow had been much used in this realm, whereby honour and victory had been gotten against outward enemies, the realm greatly defended, and much more the dread of all Christian princes by reason of the same [*b*]."

DURING the long reign of Henry VIII. no royal order issued which relates to archery, but there are several statutes which state the necessity of reviving this martial exercise [*i*]. Edward the Sixth used to shoot himself with a bow [*k*].

IN the reign of Philip and Mary, the statutes of Henry the Eighth for the promotion of archery are much commended, with directions to enforce them [*l*].

[*f*] Arrows were found on this field of battle, not many years since.

[*g*] Henry VII. is drawn as shooting at butts. *Strat*, Vol. II.

[*b*] See *Rastell's Statutes*, 19 Hen. VII, c. 4.

[*i*] Viz. 3 Hen. VIII. c. 3. which directs that every father should provide a bow and two arrows for his son, when he shall be seven years old. 6 Hen. VIII. c. 3. By which every one (except the clergy and judges) are obliged to shoot at butts.—6 Hen. VIII. c. 13. chiefly levelled against the use of cross-bows.—25 Hen. VIII. c. 17. which inflicts a penalty of ten pounds if a cross-bow is found in the house.—33 Hen. VIII. c. 9. which recites the great price of yew bows [made of Elke * yew] and reduces it to three shillings and four pence.

[*k*] See his own MS. Journal in the British Museum.

[*l*] See 4 and 5 Ph. and M. c. 2. *Rastell*.

* I rather conceive that this should be Elbe, as 3 Eliz. c. 14. mentions bow-slaves to be imported from the Hanse towns.

THE 8 Eliz. c. 10. regulates the price of bows, and the 13 Eliz. c. 14. enacts that bow staves shall be brought into the realm from the Hanse towns and the Eastward, so that archery still continued to be an object of attention in the legislature.

I FIND neither statute nor proclamation of James the First on this head; but it appears by Dr. Birch's Life of his son (prince Henry) that at eight years of age he learned to shoot both with the bow and gun, whilst at the same time this prince had in his establishment an officer who was stiled bow-bearer.

To the best of my recollection also, though I cannot at present refer to my authority, this king granted a second charter to the Artillery Company, by which the powers they had received from Henry the Eighth were considerably extended.

CHARLES the First seems, from the dedication of a treatise, entitled, "The Bowman's Glory," to have been himself an archer [m], and in the eighth year of his reign he issued a commission to the Chancellor, Lord Mayor, and several of the privy council, to prevent the fields near London being so inclosed [n] as "to interrupt the necessary and profitable exercise of shooting," as also to lower the mounds where they prevented the view from one mark to another.

THE same commission directs that bridges should be thrown over the dikes, and that all shooting marks which had been removed, should be restored [o].

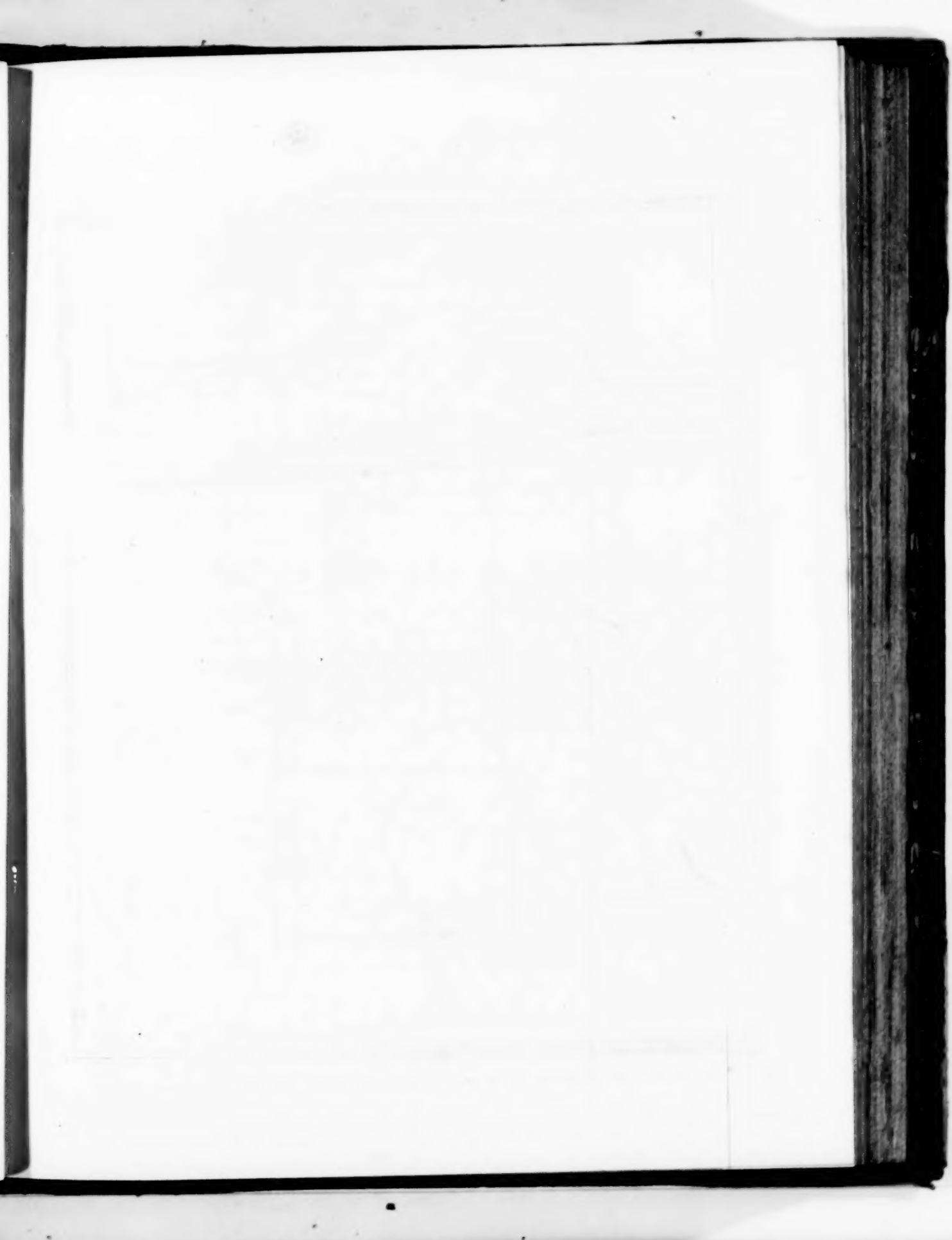
CHARLES

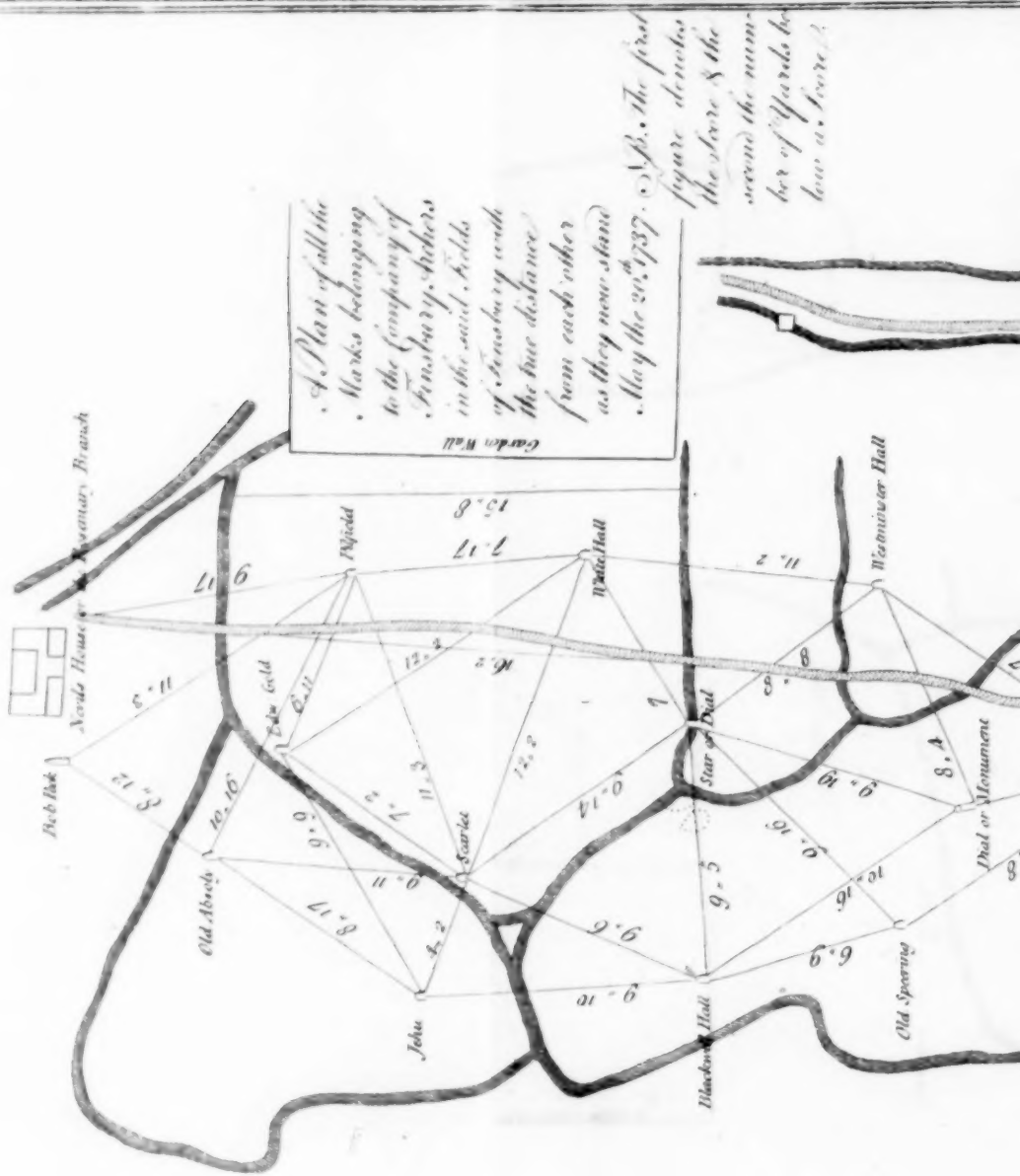
[m] It hath been before observed that his elder brother prince Henry was so. See also Baker's Chronicle.

[n] In the fifth year of Henry the Eighth, such inclosures were levelled by an insurrection of the archers. See Grafton's Chronicle.

[o] Under these last clauses, a cowkeeper named Pitfield was so late as 1746 obliged to renew one of these marks, on which the Artillery Company cut the following inscription, viz. *Pitfield's Repentance*. I am informed also that Mr.

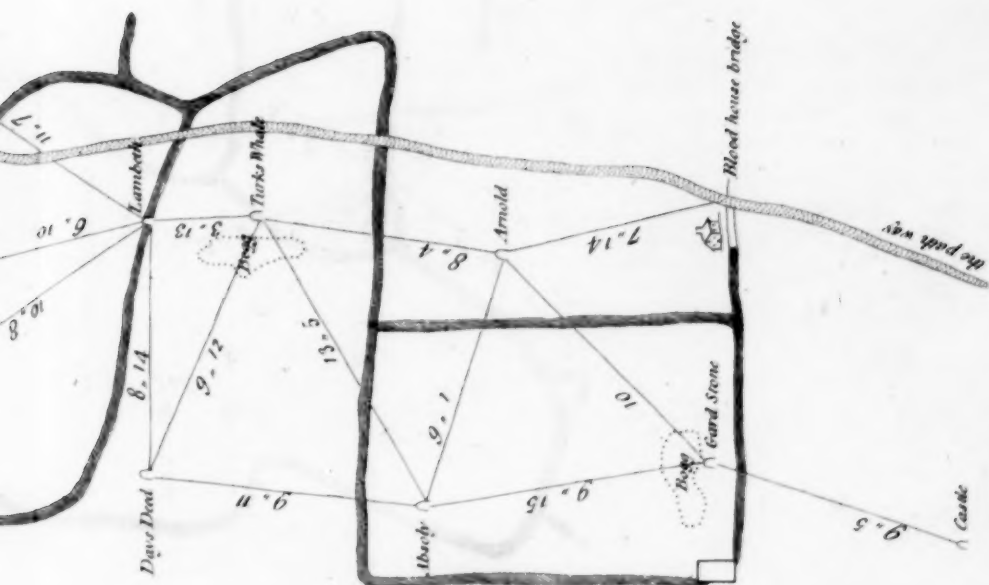
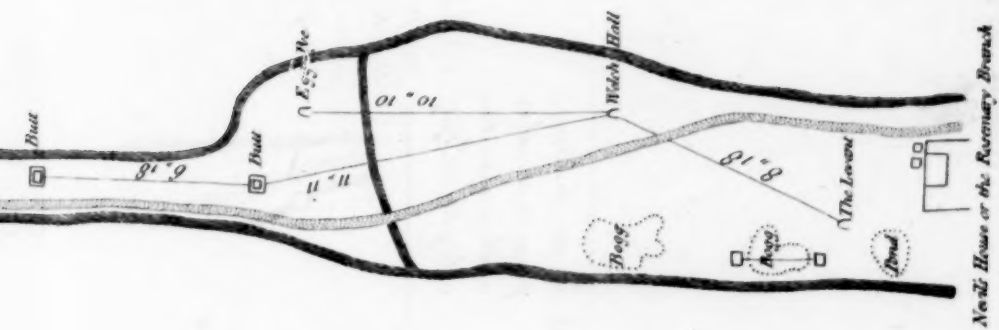
Scott

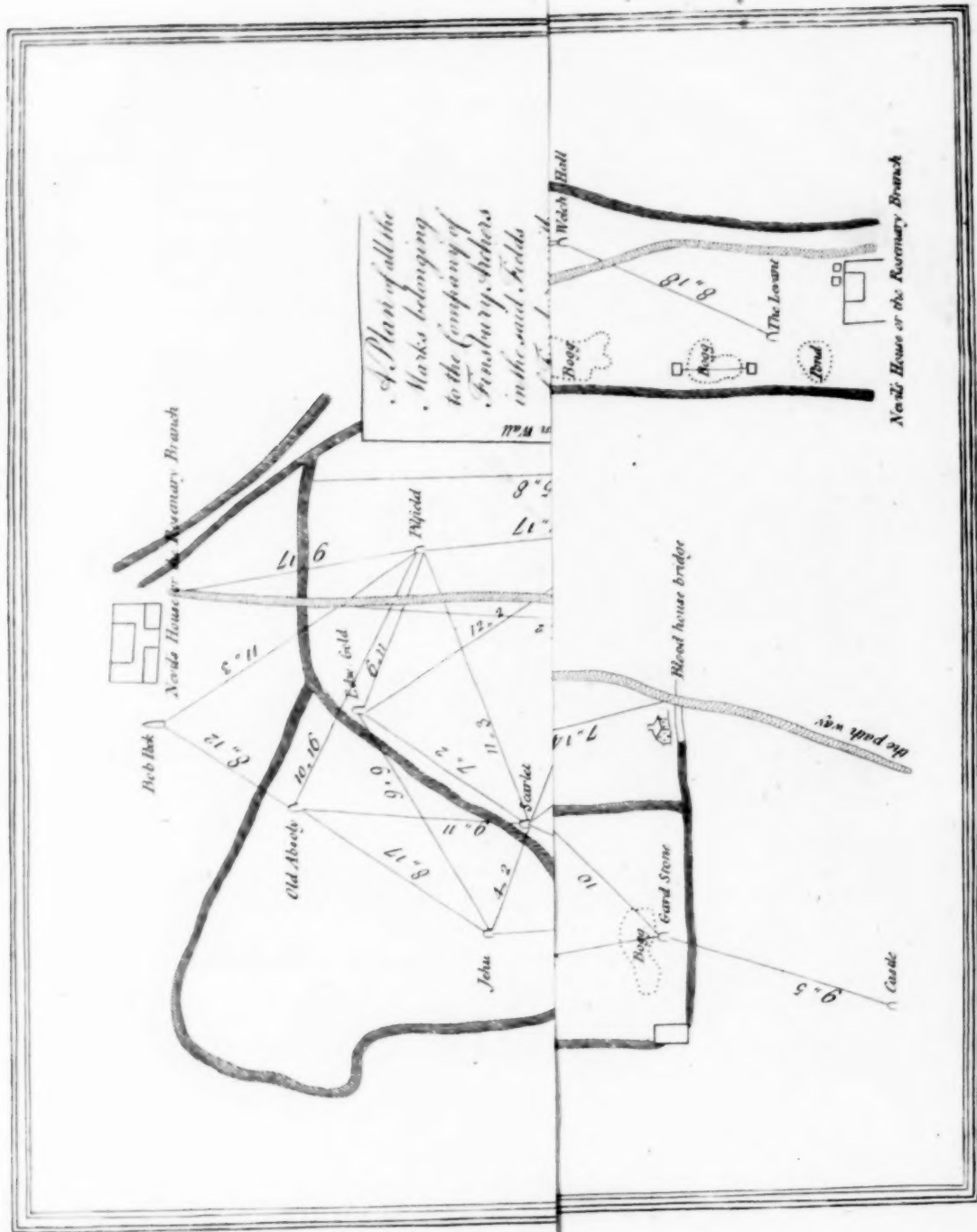




*A Plan of all the
Marks belonging
to the Company of
Finsbury, Stickers
in the said Fields
of Finsbury with
the true distance
from each other
as they now stand
May the 20th 1797.*

Q. B. The first figure denotes the Score & the second the number of Yards below a Score?





CHARLES the First likewise issued two proclamations for the promotion of archery, the last of which recommends the use of the bow, and pike together [p].

CATHERINE of Portugal (queen to Charles the Second) seems to have been much pleased with the sight at least of this exercise; for in 1676, by the contributions of Sir Edward Hungerford and others, a silver badge for the marshal of the fraternity was made, weighing twenty-five ounces, and representing an archer drawing the long-bow (in the proper manner) to his ear, with the following inscription: *Reginæ Catherinæ Sagittarii*. The supporters are two bowmen with the arms of England and Portugal.

IN 1682 there was a most magnificent cavalcade and entertainment given by the Finsbury archers [q], when they bestowed the titles of duke of Shoreditch, marquis of Islington, &c. upon the most deserving. Charles the Second was present upon this occasion, but the day being rainy, he was obliged soon to leave the field.

I do not find any thing relative to the state of archery during the short reign of James the Second, but it continued after this to be used for a manly exercise, as appears by the following epitaph on the south side of Clerkenwell church, which is still very legible.

Scott (the great brick-maker) hath been under the necessity of making his submission. I mean to annex a plan of these shooting marks in the Finsbury Fields.

[p] See Rymer's *Fœdera* in the years 1631 and 1633.—In the latter, Charles grants the office of bow-bearer in Sherwood Forest.

[q] See the *Art of Archery* by Gervas Markham, 1634. 12mo,

Sir William Wood lies very near this stone,
 In's time of archery excelled by none;
 Few were his equals, and this noble art
 Hath suffer'd now in the most tender part.
 Long did he live the honour of the bow,
 And his long life to that alone did owe;
 But how can art secure, or what can save,
 Extreme old age from an appointed grave?
 Surviving archers much his loss lament,
 And in respect bestow'd this monument,
 Where *whistling arrows* [r] did his worth proclaim,
 And eternize his memory, and name.

Obiit Sept. 4. A. D. 1691. æt. 82.

There is a very good portrait of this famous archer, belonging to the Artillery Company, at a public house which looks into the Artillery Ground [s].

ARCHERY however did not entirely dye with Sir William Wood, for in 1696 a widow (named Mrs. Elizabeth Shakerley [t]) left by her will thirty-five pounds to be distributed in prizes to this fraternity. Possibly she had attended the Finsbury archers, from the same curiosity which Ovid ascribes to Penelope [u].

IN the succeeding reign of queen Anne, I have been informed by general Oglethorpe, that together with the duke of Rutland

[r] These arrows are still sometimes used, the horn work being hollow, as also filled with holes. The air passing through these arrows makes a whistling both in the ascent and descent.—They are supposed to have been used by the piquet guards, to give notice to the camp of the enemy's approach during the night.

[s] The Blue Anchor, Bunhill-Row.

[t] See MS. penes the Artillery Company.

[u] Penelope juvenum vires tentabat in arcu,

Qui latus arqueret corneus arcus erat.

and

and several others of considerable rank, he used frequently to shoot in the neighbourhood of London. I do not presume to guess the general's age, but he must be advanced in years, as he was aid-de-camp to prince Eugene of Savoy, and still continues to handle his bow in such a manner, that there is little doubt but that he would distinguish himself in this manly exercise.

I do not find in the archives of the company any memoranda of consequence during the reign of George the First, but till the year 1753 targets were erected in the Finsbury fields, during the Easter and Whitsun holidays, when the best shooter was styled captain for the ensuing year, and the second, lieutenant. Of these there are only two now surviving, viz. Mr. Benjamin Poole and Mr. Philip Constable, who have frequently obtained these titles. The former of these is now rather aged and infirm, but the latter hath been so obliging as to shew me most of their marks in the Finsbury Fields, as well as to communicate several anecdotes and observations relative to archery.

HAVING now deduced the history of the long-bow even to the present times, when it ceases to be used by the chartered company [w], I shall now endeavour to suggest the reasons, why this military weapon was so decisive in the battles of preceding centuries.

BEFORE the introduction of fire-arms the enemy could only be struck at a distance by slings, the bow used by the ancients,

[w] It revives however under the auspices of our worthy member Sir Ashton Lever.

A silver arrow used till within these few years to be shot for by the young gentlemen of Harrow School. Annual prizes are also still given at Edinburgh to those who excel in this exercise.

or the cross-bow ; to all which the English long-bow was infinitely superior.

As for slings, they never have been used in the more northern parts of Europe by armies in the field [x] : for which as there must have been some fundamental reasons ; I will venture to suggest two, though possibly there may be many others.

It should seem, in the first place, that slingers cannot advance in a compact body, on account of the space to be occupied by this weapon in its rotatory motion ; and in the second place, that the weight of the stones to be carried must necessarily impede the slingers greatly in their movements.

THE bow of the ancients, as represented in all their reliefs, was a mere toy compared with that of our ancestors [y] ; it was therefore chiefly used by the Parthians, whose attacks (like those of the present Arabs) were desultory.

As for the cross-bow, it is of a most inconvenient form for carriage, even with the modern improvements ; and, in case of rain, could not be easily secured from the weather. After the first shot moreover it could not be recharged under a considerable time, whilst the bolts were also heavy and cumbersome.

THE English long-bow, on the other hand, together with the quiver of arrows, was easily carried by the archer, as easily secured from rain, and recharged almost instantaneously. It is not therefore extraordinary, that troops, who solely used this most effectual weapon, should generally obtain the victory, even when opposed to much more numerous armies.

BUT it may be urged, that these losses having been experienced by our enemies, must have induced them to practise the

[x] Sometimes perhaps in sieges.

[y] The bow used by the natives of George's Sound N. Lat. 50 on the N. W. coast of America is in form very similar to the Roman bow. See a specimen at Sir A. Lever's Museum.

same mode of warfare, which was actually attempted both by the French [z] and Scots [a] though too late in the day.

I HAVE endeavoured already to prove, that the long-bow was not commonly used even in England till the time of Edward the Third, when the victory at Crescy sufficiently proclaimed the superiority of that weapon.

IT required however so much training before the archer could be expert, that we must not be surpris'd if soon afterwards this military exercise was much neglected, as appears by the preambles of several ancient statutes which I have already cited.

WHILST the military tenures subsisted, the sovereign could only call upon his tenants during war, who therefore attended with the weapons they had been used to, and which required no previous practice.

ON the other hand, the English archers were obliged by acts of parliament, even in time of peace, to erect butts in every parish, and to shoot on every Sunday and holiday, after repairing perhaps to these butts from a considerable distance, whilst the expence of at least a yew-bow, is represented as being a charge, which they were scarcely equal to [b].

THE king and parliaments of this country having thus compelled the inhabitants to such training, the English armies had

[z] In 1444 an establishment in France was at least intended, of no less than four thousand archers, and every parish was obliged to furnish one. See Pafquier's *Recherches de la France*, p. 133.

[a] See the statute of James the First of Scotland, A. D. 1424. The title of which is "That ilk man busk them to be archeres." They are therefore to begin this exercise at twelve years old. See likewise other Scotch acts, viz. in 1457. 1474 and 1491.

[b] By one of the ancient statutes a bow of foreign yew may be sold for no more than six shillings.

(it should seem) the same advantage over our enemies, as the exclusive use of firearms would give us at present.

It appears also by what hath been already stated that the long-bow continued to be in estimation for more than two centuries after gunpowder was introduced, which probably arose from musquets being very cumbersome and unwieldy. It is well known that rapid movements are generally decisive of the campaign, and for such the archers were particularly adapted, because, as they could not be annoyed at the same distance by the weapons of the enemy, they had scarcely any occasion for armour. The flower of ancient armies likewise was the cavalry, against which the long-bow never failed to prevail, as man and horse were too large objects to be missed; and hence the great number of French nobility who were prisoners at Crefey, Poitiers, and Agincourt, for being dismounted (if not wounded) whilst they were also clad in heavy armour, they could not make their escape.

THE same reason accounts for our obtaining these signal victories with so inferior numbers, for the nobility and gentry thus becoming prisoners, the other parts of the French army made little or no resistance.

HAVING mentioned so many advantages on the side of the English archers, I cannot but observe, that if the enemy gained the wind against them, it must have been almost as decisive in favour of our opponents, as when it is obtained in a sea fight: I conclude however, that our generals avoided engagements if possible, when the wind was not favourable.

I SHALL now conclude this essay by a few anecdotes and general observations relative to the subject.

THOUGH

THOUGH we hear of arrows at Cheviot Chase which were a yard long, yet it is by no means to be supposed that the whole band made use of such, or could draw them to the head.

THE regulation of the Irish statute of Edward the Fourth, viz. *that the bow shall not exceed the height of the man*, is allowed by archers to have been well considered; and as the arrow should be half the length of the bow, this would give an arrow of a yard in length to those only who were six feet high. A strong man of this size in the present times cannot easily draw above twenty-four inches, if the bow is of a proper strength to do execution at a considerable distance. At the same time it must be admitted, that as our ancestors were obliged by some of the old statutes to begin shooting with the long-bow at the age of seven, they might have acquired a greater slight in this exercise, than their descendants, though the latter should be allowed to be of equal strength.

As the shooting with the long-bow was first introduced in England, and practised almost exclusively for nearly two centuries, so it hath occasioned a peculiar method of drawing the arrow to the *ear*, and not to the breast.

THAT this is contrary to the usage of the ancients [c] is very clear from their *reliefs*, and from the tradition of the Amazons cutting off one of their paps, as it occasioned an impediment to their shooting [d].

As for Diana's not having suffered the same amputation, it must be remembered that she was not only a goddess, but most active huntress, and professed the most perfect chastity; she therefore could not be supposed to have been impeded by such an obstacle to archery, as *Juno* or *Ceres*.

[c] Νευρὴν μὲν μαζὴν πελάσεν, τοῦ δὲ σιδήρου.

[d] Unum exēcta latus pugna, pharētrata Camilla.

Homer.

Virgil.

THE

THE Finsbury archer is therefore represented in this attitude of drawing to the ear, both in *The Bowman's Glory*, as also in the silver badge given by Catherine (queen of Charles the Second) to the Artillery Company.

SEVERAL years ago there was a man named Topham who exhibited most surprizing feats of strength, and who happened to be at a public house near Islington, to which the Finsbury archers resorted, after their exercise. Topham considered the long-bow as a play-thing, only fit for a child, upon which one of the archers laid him a bowl of punch, that he could not draw the arrow two thirds of its length. Topham accepted this bet with the greatest confidence of winning, but bringing the arrow to his breast, instead of his ear, he was greatly mortified by paying the wager, after many fruitless efforts.

As to the distance to which an arrow can be shot from a long-bow with the best elevation of forty-five degrees, that must necessarily depend much both upon the strength and flight of the archer, but as the longest distance I can find in the annexed plans is eleven score and seven yards [e]. I conclude that such length is not often exceeded [f].

THERE is indeed a tradition that an attorney of Wigan in Lancashire (named Leigh) shot a mile in three flights, but the same tradition states, that he placed himself in a very particular attitude, which cannot be used commonly in this exercise [g].

[e] Viz. from the mark of *Lambeth* to that of *Westminster Hall*.

[f] "He'll clap you in the clout at *twelve score*," Shakespear. This however seems to be mentioned as an extraordinary feat.

It must be admitted however that by 33 Henry VIII. no one aged twenty-four is to shoot at any mark under eleven score.

[g] He is supposed to have sat on a stool, the middle of his bow being fastened to one of his feet, to have elevated that foot forty-five degrees, and drawn the string of a strong bow with both his hands.

THE

THE archers consider an arrow of an ounce weight [*f*] to be the best for flight or hitting a mark at a considerable distance, and that asp also is the best material of which they can be made.

As to the feathers, that of a goose is preferred; it is also wished, that the bird should be two or three years old, and that the feather may drop of itself [*g*].

AND here it may not perhaps be improper to explain the *grey goose wing* in the ballad of Cheviot Chase.

Two out of the three feathers in an arrow are commonly white, being plucked from the gander, but the third is generally brown or gray, being taken from the goose, and from this difference in point of colour informs the archer when the arrow is properly placed. From this most distinguished part therefore the whole arrow sometimes receives its name.

THOUGH archery continued to be encouraged by the king, and legislature for more than two centuries, after the first knowledge of the effects of gunpowder, yet by the latter end of the reign of Henry the Eighth, it seems to have been partly considered as a pastime [*h*].

ARTHUR

[*f*] They generally speak indeed of an arrow's weighing so many shillings.

[*g*] Edward the Third indeed directed the sherives to pluck the proper feathers from the geese in every county. His majesty however wanted these upon the *spur* of an occasion, and could not wait till the feathers dropped.

Ascham in his *Toxophilus* breaks out into the following panegyric on a goose, because this bird supplies feathers for arrows.

"How well does she make a man fare at his table, how easily does she make a man lye down in his bed, how fit even as her feathers be for shooting, so be her quills only fit for writing."

Julius Scaliger hath also given us "*Laudes Anseris*."

[*h*] Lord Herbert observes, that in 1544 Henry the Eighth had himself invented small pieces of artillery to defend his waggons; as also that he took an account of all the ordnance then in the tower, and sent much of it to Tilbury,

ARTHUR, the elder brother of Henry, is said to have been fond of this exercise, in so much, that a good shooter, was styled prince Arthur [i].

WE are also informed [k], that he pitched his tent at Mile-End, in order to be present at this recreation, and that Henry his brother also attended.

WHEN the latter afterwards became king, he gave a prize at Windsor to those who should excel in this exercise [l], and a capital shot having been made, Henry said to Barlow (one of his guards) "if you still win, you shall be duke over all archers." Barlow therefore having succeeded, and living in Shoreditch, was created duke thereof [m].

UPON another occasion Henry and the queen were met by two hundred archers on Shooter's Hill, which probably took its name from their assembling near it to shoot at marks.

THIS king likewise gave the first charter to the Artillery Company in the twenty-ninth year of his reign, by which they are permitted to wear dresses of any colour except purple and scarlet [n], to shoot not only at marks, but birds [o], if not pheasants.

Gravesend, Dover, and Portsmouth. That he availed himself of the artillery destined for the last of these places, appears by an engraving lately published by the Society.

[i] See Stowe.

[k] Bowman's Glory.

[l] In the time of Charles the First the gunners styled those who contended for the use of archery, *king Harry's captains*. See the List of Archery by Gervas Markham 1634, 12mo.

[m] This title together with that of marquis of Islington, earl of Pancridge, &c. were kept up even so late as 1683, these being all villages in the neighbourhood of the Finsbury Fields.

[n] Many statutes of this reign restrain expence and colours of the dress.

[o] Though we hear that Indians shoot both birds and beasts, it is believed that this is effected by the archers stealing very near to them. Nor are animals

so

pheasants or herons, and within two miles of the royal palaces. They are also enjoined by the same charter not to wear furs of a greater price than those of the martin. The most material privilege however is, that of indemnification from murder, if any person passing between the shooter and the mark is killed, provided the archers have first called out FAST [p].

As it appears by what hath been stated, that both Henry the Eighth and his queen sometimes attended the archers when they were shooting at marks, it is not at all extraordinary that their dresses began to be expensive, and that they studied much the gracefulness of the attitude.

ASCHAM therefore, who wrote his *Toxophilus* at the end of this reign, hath several chapters on this head, in which he begins, by ridiculing the awkwardness of some archers in this respect, as in the following citation.

“ ANOTHER coureth downe, and layeth out his buttocks, as though he should shoot at crowses [q].”

WHICH last part moreover explains a passage in Shakespeare's *King Lear*, Act IV. sc. 6.

“ THAT fellow handles his bow like a crowkeeper.”

FROM the words above quoted it is to be inferred, that when gunpowder was yet very dear, fields were kept from crows by

so shy of man in an American wilderness, as they are in countries better inhabited. In the Falkland Islands therefore, when first settled by the English, the birds suffered themselves to be knocked down with sticks. De Pagés also informs us, that the birds between Surat and Bombay, do not avoid man, because the country is peopled by Hindoos, who never molest them. A horse or cow is larger, and therefore would probably be more formidable to the feathered creation, did not they soon experience that they are liable to more attacks from man.

[p] Possibly an abbreviation of *stand fast*. It appears that Dr. John Rainolds was nearly killed by such an accident. See Holland's *Herologia*, part II. p. 229.

[q] *Toxophilus* 29. B.

unskilful archers, who had no grace in their attitudes, and were therefore spoken of by the expert with the greatest contempt, so that *to shoot like a crowkeeper*, had become proverbial.

ASCHAM mentions another particular with regard to archery in his time, which is, that (as it commonly happens in other pastimes) the bets at these shooting matches began to be considerable.

I SHALL conclude this essay by mentioning, that the long-bow continues to be used as a manly exercise by the inhabitants of Geneva, and in many parts of Flanders; nor is it totally neglected in Great Britain, particularly Lancashire [r], and London, where a society (of which our worthy member Sir Ashton Lever is the president) frequently use this manly recreation.

I TAKE the liberty also of presenting for the perusal of the society a MS. treatise on the same subject addressed to Sir Ashton Lever, which, though compiled by a scribe at Manchester, contains some particulars which may deserve attention, as likewise drawings of the different sorts of arrows, which must always exceed mere verbal descriptions.

Believe me, dear Sir,

Your most faithful humble servant,

DAINES BARRINGTON.

P. S. Upon looking over more carefully the plan of the archer's marks, I find a greater distance than from *Lambeth* to *Westminster-Hall* (see a former note), viz. from *Turks* *Whale* to *Abfoly*, being thirteen score and five yards.

[r] This county hath long been famous for this exercise, as appears by the following line to be found somewhere in Leland's Collectanea.

"Lancashire faire archers."

V. Illustration



The Seal of Richard Duke of Gloucester.

V. *Illustration of an unpublished Seal of Richard Duke of Gloucester. By the Rev. Dr. Milles, Dean of Exeter, P. S. A.*

Read April 5, 1781.

I HAVE the honour of exhibiting to the Society an impression of the official seal of Richard duke of Gloucester (afterwards king Richard the Third), as lord admiral of England and earl of Dorset and Somerset. The original seal is in brass, and in the most perfect preservation. It was the property of Mr. Joseph Hankey, attorney at St. Column in Cornwall, who purchased it in a lot of old brass and iron amongst the household goods of one Mr. Jackson, an innkeeper of that town. How Mr. Jackson came possessed of it does not appear. He was a native of Cumberland, from which he removed first to Holdsworth, after to Crediton in Devonshire, and afterwards to St. Columb in Cornwall, where he died. He seemed not to have put any value upon the seal, nor to have ever mentioned it to any of his family [a].

THIS seal resembles very much that of John Holland earl of Huntingdon, and afterwards duke of Exeter, who was constituted lord high admiral of England for life, October 21, 1436, 14 Henry VI [b].

It

[a] Upon the death of Mr. Hankey 1782 the seal became the property of Mr. Dennis, attorney of Penzance in Cornwall. See pl. V.

[b] Engraved in the History of St. Katharine's Hospital, pl. V. p. 19. from the original matrix in the possession of John Topham, Esq. A like seal of his son Henry

It represents the admiral's ship with the main-sail filled bearing the arms of France and England quarterly, with a label of three points Ermine, each charged with a canton Gules; a distinction borne by Richard as a younger branch of the Plantagenet family. On the forecastle, which is embattled and adorned with fleurs-de-lis, stands a beacon, and under it hangs the anchor; on the square stern castle, which is adorned in the same manner, stands a dragon supporting the admiral's flag with the same coat armour.

It may be questioned whether the dragon is meant to be introduced here as the duke's supporter; for, according to Edmondson, his dexter supporter was a lion gardant crowned Or; and his sinister a boar Argent bristled. Henry the Seventh indeed took for his dexter supporter a dragon Gules; his sinister supporter was a greyhound collared Gules, assumed by him in right of his wife Elizabeth, who was of the house of York.

THE inscription round the margin of the seal is as follows:

S. Ric'i Duc' Glouc' admiralli Angl' & Com' Dorset & Somers'.

Sigillum Ricardi Ducis Gloucestriae admiralli Angliae & comitis Dorset & Somerset.

It seems extraordinary that there should be so little historical authority extant for the titles given to the duke in this inscription. Sir Henry Spelman indeed mentions him in the list of admirals inserted in his Glossary, with the date of October the 12th, but no year annexed; and again inserts his name as lord high admiral in the 11th of Edward IV. Sandford is almost the only writer who speaks of the duke as *lord high admiral*, and the following passage in his Genealogical History, page 405, relative to it, is loosely and erroneously penned—

Henry duke of Exeter, admiral of England, Ireland, and Aquitaine, was engraved by Dr. Rawlinson, 1751, from the original in his possession.

" SHORTLY after the coronation of Edward, this Richard (meaning Richard duke of Gloucester), in a parliament holden anno primo Edwardi quarti, was created duke of Gloucester, and *thereupon constituted admiral of England.*" This last sentence is certainly *not* true, for it appears by the patent of creation [c] that Richard was created duke of Gloucester November 1, 1461, 1 Edward IV. at which time Richard Nevill earl of Warwick and Salisbury was admiral of England, and he continued in that office till July 14, 1462, when William earl of Kent was constituted admiral of England [d], who did not long enjoy that station; for upon the 12th of August the same year, the king granted by patent large possessions to duke Richard for the support of his state and dignity, wherein he styles him "*Ricardum Ducem Gloucestriae et Maris Admirallum.*" By this patent the duke had the castle of Gloucester, the office of constable of Corfe castle, the manor of Kingston Lacey in the county of Dorset, and the earldom of Richmond in Yorkshire, and also the vast possessions in Essex, Cambridgeshire, Middlesex, and in several other counties of John De Vere earl of Oxford (who had then lately been attainted of treason) granted to him and the heirs male of his body.

THIS grant is preserved upon the patent roll of 2 Edward IV. part 2. m. 5. and is printed in the Rolls of parliament, vol. VI. pag. 227.

THE duke continued possessed of the office of admiral till the year 1470, when Henry VI. having re-ascended the throne, and the Yorkists being driven from power, Richard Nevill the famous earl of Warwick and Salisbury was created admiral of England by patent bearing date January 2d in that year [e]. But the battles of Barnet and Tewkesbury in the succeeding

[c] Rymer, tom. XI. p. 476.

[d] Ibid. p. 490.

[e] Ibid. p. 679.

year

year proving fatal to Henry, and Edward IV. having re-ascended the throne, duke Richard was restored to his office of admiral, which probably he continued to enjoy till he placed himself upon the throne of England; for we find that during his protectorship in the short reign of Edward V. he styled himself "Richard duke of Gloucester, brother and uncle of kings, protector and defensor, gret chambreleyn, constable, and *admiral* of England." This instrument is dated the 19th of May, 1 Edward V. and is printed from the original journal book in Buck's Life of Richard III. [f].

ON the accession of Richard to the throne, John Howard duke of Norfolk was constituted admiral of England.

THESE are sufficient proofs that the duke of Gloucester for many years occupied the office of admiral of England; but with respect to the earldoms of Dorset and Somerset, his title to them is not so clearly authenticated by historians. Under this uncertainty, it may not be amiss to hazard a conjecture respecting his right to these two titles, which may also assist us in fixing the time when this seal was fabricated.

THE earldoms of Dorset and Somerset were granted to John Beaufort, eldest son of John of Gaunt duke of Lancaster by Catherine Swinford, and continued in that family till the 11th year of Edward IV. The battle of Tewkesbury, which established the crown in the house of York, was fought May 4, 1471. At that battle Edmund Beaufort then earl of Dorset and duke of Somerset commanded on the part of Henry VI. and Richard duke of Gloucester led the vanguard of the army under his brother Edward IV. The duke of Gloucester by a feint drew the duke of Somerset from his entrenchments, vanquished his army, and took the duke himself prisoner, who was soon after-

[f] See Kenner's Collection of English Historians, vol. I. p. 522.

wards tried with some others before the dukes of Gloucester and Norfolk, and being condemnaed was beheaded at Shrewsbury. By this event the earldoms of Dorset and Somerset became extinct in the Beaufort family.

As the duke of Gloucester had so principal a share in the victory at Tewkesbury, it seems no improbable supposition that he was rewarded with the forfeited titles of his vanquished rival; and though we have no express proofs of the fact, it seems reasonable to conclude that he then assumed the titles of earl of Dorset and Somerset. It is also observed by Rapin, page 600, that Edward IV. in the fourteenth year of his reign confiscated the estates of the Lancastrians. Richard however did not long continue in possession of *both* those titles, for in 1475 king Edward IV. advanced Thomas Grey, half-brother of the queen, to the dignity of marquis of Dorset, in which family it continued till 1553, the first year of queen Mary; but the title of Somerset does not appear to have been granted to any person till 1495, when Henry VII. created Edward his third son duke of Somerset.

From the whole of these facts it appears probable that this curious seal was fabricated between the year 1471, when the duke of Gloucester possessed for the *second* time the office of admiral of England, and 1475, when Thomas Grey was created marquis of Dorset; that is to say, between the 11th and 15th years of Edward IV.

I SHALL close these observations with expressing my obligations to my learned friend Mr. Topham, for his useful assistance in illustrating and verifying this enquiry by a reference to authentic documents.

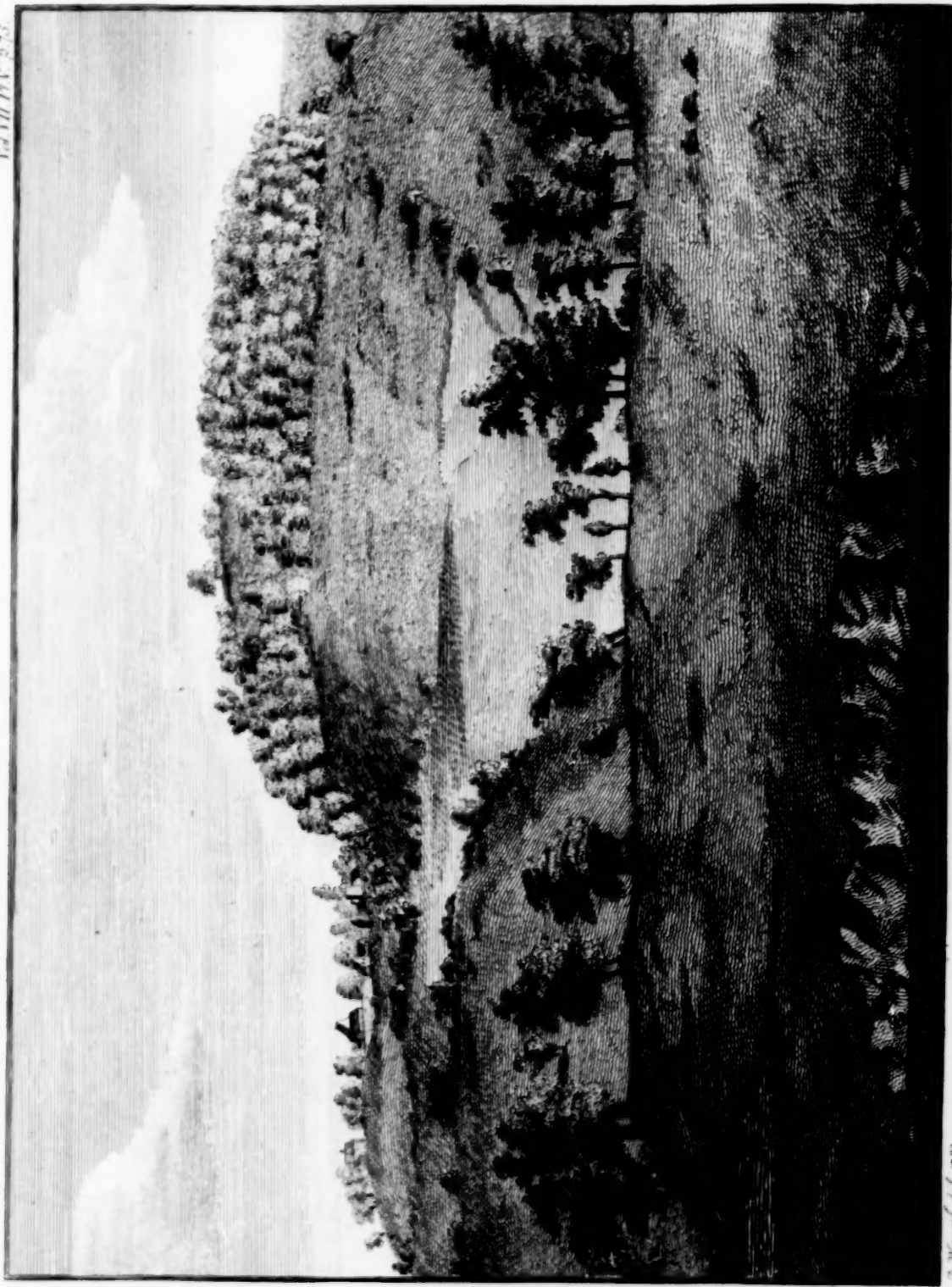
VI. *Conjectures concerning some undescribed Roman Roads, and other Antiquities in the County of Durham. In a Letter to the Rev. Dr. Kaye (now Dean of Lincoln) from John Cade, Esq. of Durham.*

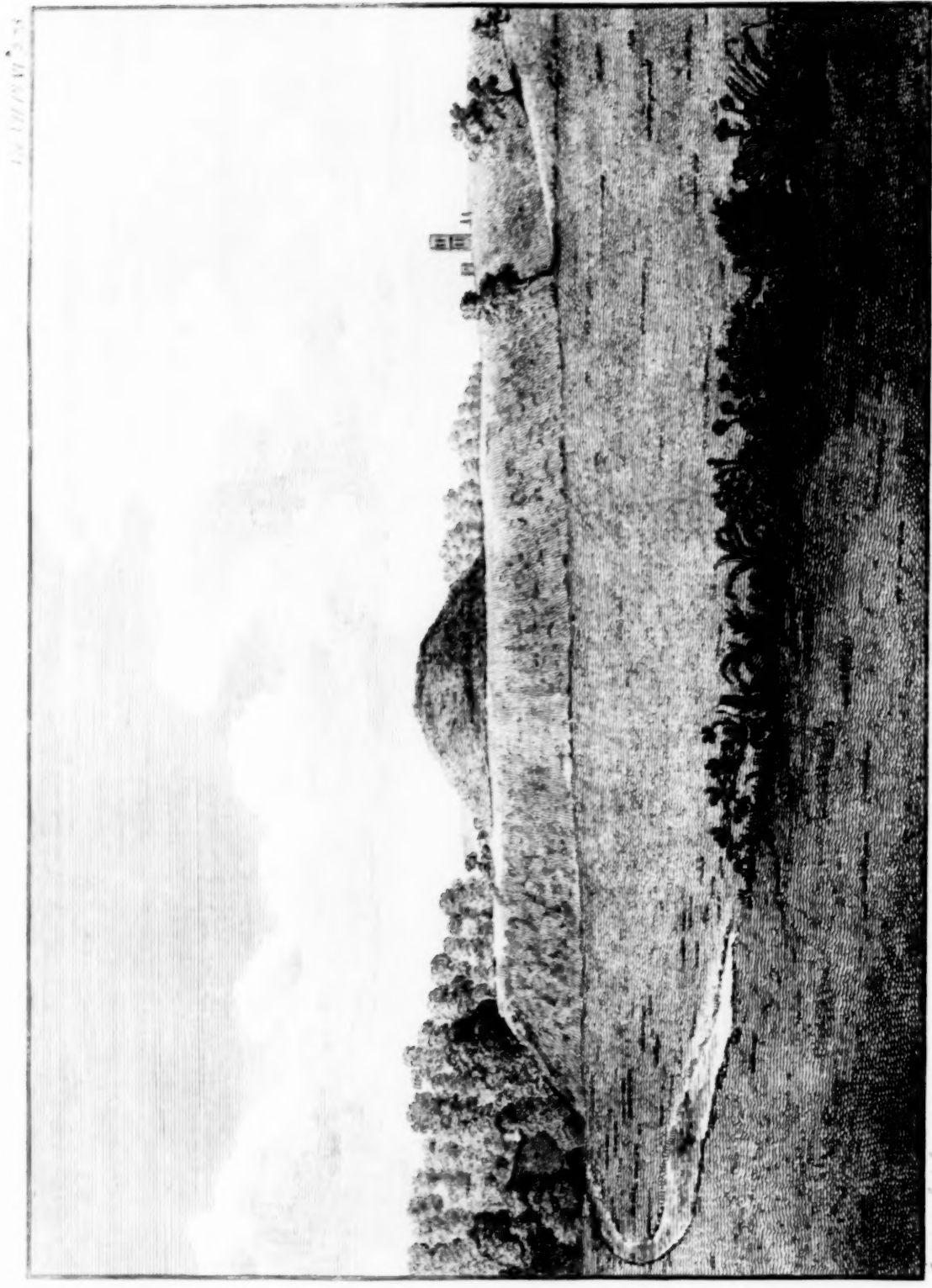
Read May 30, 1782.

Reverend Sir,

UPON the perusal of an Essay on the four great Roman Ways in the sixth volume of Leland's Itinerary, as well as other authors on the subject; I find no satisfactory account has been given of the continuation of the Fosse Way, and Rycknild Street, through the counties of York and Durham; some imagining the former to have terminated at Inverness in Scotland, without describing its course from Lincoln; and we are left in a similar state of uncertainty respecting the latter, which most writers have traced no farther than the borders of Derbyshire; though all seem to agree, that it extended to Tynemouth in Northumberland; where two curious Roman altars have lately been dugged up, the drawing of which by my direction have been transmitted to my friend the Rev. Mr. Norris for the inspection of the Society. I shall therefore enter into a discussion of the subject, and submit to you, as concisely as I can, the result







A rough del. 1783

Camp at Wooden Castle near Old Durham

Figure 11

result of my enquiries, hoping for indulgence wherever your better informed judgement shall differ from me.

IN the first place then I would observe, that there are several camps or stations in this county which undoubtedly were of Roman original; but being subsequently occupied by different tribes of adventurers, and altered according to their respective modes of defence, this circumstance has caused their primary occupancy to be overlooked by antiquaries. I shall mention particularly those of *Mainforth*, and *Maiden Castle* (now Old Durham) the former containing about sixteen acres; viz. that part now distinguished by being called the Camp, though the fortifications have been of much greater extent, as appears by the vestiges repeatedly discovered; and the latter, which is the property of John Tempest, Esq. and lies within half a mile of this city, measuring, according to the late Dr. Stukeley's account, about five hundred feet in length; to omit the remains of others, which are continued from Sockburne on the river Tees (called Soctburgh in the Chronicle of Lindisfarne), by Sadburg, Stainton le Street, and the Camps before mentioned, to Chester, Gateshead, &c.

THIS observation led me to conclude that some Roman Way, though hitherto undescribed, must have passed between those stations, particularly as we meet with the village of Stainton le Street in a direct line with Chester le Street, in this county, and Thornton le Street near Thirsk in Yorkshire; as by referring to Armstrong's and Drake's maps will clearly appear.

I ALWAYS conceived, that the adjunct *le Street* was a decisive appropriation of the place to which it was annexed to some Roman foundation: and indeed I see no reason, why our village of Stainton should not claim the honour of antiquity, and a situation on a Roman Way, equally with any other place that

has the appendage of le Street to it. Here then permit me to mention that I am not without hopes of rescuing from oblivion the old Rycknild Street Way noticed by Drayton in his Polyolbion. I shall introduce what I have to say, by citing what Leland in his Itinerary has observed concerning this road, viz. that it commenced at St. David's, or Caermarthen in Wales, and was continued over the Severn, near Caer Gwent, through the counties of Gloucester, Worcester, Warwick, and Stafford, to the borders of Derbyshire, where it disappears at Monks Bridge near Egginton, and cannot be traced farther northwards. At the same time I must observe, that Higden and other authors mention that it went through Derby and Chesterfield to York, and ended at Tynemouth in Northumberland. This opinion I can readily accede to, supposing by Derby is meant *Derventio* or Little Chester, and do further conceive, that it passed likewise by Chesterfield, and was continued along the road styled *Strata Rom. a Derby* in Drake's Map, to Chesterfield Bridge, Tadcaster, and York, from which latter place (according to the conjectures I have formed of its progress) it went to Thornton le Street, where it separated from a road leading to Catterick Bridge, and stretching in a direct line northwards, cross the Tees at Sockburne, entered the central parts of the county of Durham. Our Camp at Maiden Castle I suppose may have derived its name from the British word *mad*, pulcher or fair, which the Rev. Mr. Pegge thus ingeniously explains in treating of the Maiden Way, and Maiden Castle, in the county of Westmoreland, and which term is particularly applicable to the delightful situation of Old Durham. It also has a better claim to be considered as the *Con-durcum* of the Romans, from which it is about two miles distant, than the camp near Sunderland Bridge (which is evidently of Danish construction) and which, the annotator upon Camden says, was the opinion of a very great antiquary. I may likewise observe,

observe, with the learned Mr. Whitaker, and others, that the Romans had generally a summer and a winter station, situated within a few miles of each other, and often on opposite sides of the same river; which entirely coincides with the situation of Chester and this camp; the former might be the summer station, and this the winter.

IN Hollinshed's Chronicle, first edition, page 225, we have an account of a memorable siege which this place sustained in favour of king Athelstan, against an army of Scots, and Danes, commanded by Godfrey, brother to Anlaf, and son to Sithric, the Danish king of the Northumbrians, about the year 930, under the title Duresme [a], though the foundations of the present city were not laid till sixty years afterwards; and Marianus mentions a synod being held at Dunelhoc, anno 822. This station, I imagine, was formerly thought of great consequence, but it at length suffered the fate of many others in the northern parts, when William the Conqueror made that horrid devastation between York and this place, and erected his castrum in the new city [b]; the fortifications were then partly levelled, but enough is left to point out its former magnitude and importance; it being in my opinion much larger than Dr. Stukeley [c] has described;

[a] Duresme appears to have been a name introduced by the Normans, on account of the fortress built here after the conquest to keep the natives in subjection.

[b] A melancholy instance of this depopulation amongst many others is to be met with at Acley or Acliff in this county, which may probably derive its name from *Acca*, bishop of Hagustald in the beginning of the eighth century, and where Sir Henry Spelman mentions two Saxon councils having been held annis 782 and 789. About a mile from the aforesaid village, after the grass is cut the foundations of a considerable town, with a large church in form of a cross, are very conspicuous.

[c] His description is as follows; *Iter Boreale*, page 70. "Eastward, over the river Wear, upon another peninsula of high ground I saw a camp, called
" Maiden...

scribed; and the rivulet Pidding has, with great labour and ingenuity, been diverted from its original channel, where it ran into the Wear, near Shinkley Bridge, to answer the purpose of the Fosse along the southern and western sides of it. A gentleman with whom I am acquainted has carefully surveyed the old road from this place by Kepyre hospital, and he assures me, that, in a dry season, the piers of a bridge are obvious in the bed of the river, seemingly of Roman construction; and I have authority to say that coins have been formerly ploughed up here, and lately some of the lower empire have also been discovered within its vicinage. The ground-plot and ramparts of the watch tower, which served for signals to this station, are visible and almost entire at the entrance of Gilligate Moor, and exactly correspond in form with those on the Roman wall in Northumberland. At Newton Hall likewise, on the opposite side of the river, there has been an exploratory castrum, seemingly for the security of Old Durham and Chester le Street. I can gain but little information respecting the camp at Mainsforth, which probably may derive its name from *Main Fort*, as being of more importance than any other in the country. I visited it about a month since, with our worthy friend the doctor. The country people call it *Mount Narbon*, or *Narbal*. It is situated about eight miles south of Old Durham, near a rivulet called the little Skern, which has been converted into a deep fosse, and thereby rendered the place of great strength. Its present form is circular, of an extraordinary elevation, and I apprehend had been occupied, if

“ Maiden Castle, which I judge to be Roman. It is almost encompassed too by
 “ a rivulet falling into the river from the east. It is of an oblong form, five
 “ hundred feet long, very steep on three sides; the neck is guarded by a ram-
 “ part, and without that at some little distance by a ditch. The prospect is large,
 “ more especially eastward.”

not fabricated into its present magnitude by *Gormondus* the Dane; for about three miles northwards from hence, we meet with the hamlet of *Garmundsway*, probably named after him [d]; and near thereto great quantities of human bones have been discovered, both in making the roads, and in the adjacent fields. It is now the property of Robert Surtees, Esq. and by being planted round with tall firs, and other trees, makes a very pleasing appearance at all seasons of the year. I will defer mentioning my conjecture of those camps, being situated on the Rycknild Street, till we take a view of the Fosse Way, where most writers agree it terminated, viz. at Lincoln. I confess, I have always been of a very different opinion. For can

[d] This is a conjecture wherein all our historians agree, that Godmanchester or Gormancester, near Huntingdon, and Gorleston alias Gorman's Town near Yaremouth in Norfolk, were so named from him. And here I would just beg leave to observe, that it appears to me very probable, that king Athelstan fixed his camp near Bradbury in this county, when he went against, and gained that decisive victory over the Danes in the year 937, viz. from Nun Stainton about half a mile northwards, where we meet with some tumuli by the sides of the road, and about two miles distance from the camp at Mainsforth, from which it is separated by a very extensive morass. This situation agrees very well with the accounts that Hollinshed, Speed, and others give us of this battle; and if we substitute what is now called Bradbury for Brimesbury, I believe we shall not be guilty of any capital error. The reasons that induced me to embrace this opinion are; first, we have an account of a combined army of Scots and Danes besieging the city of Duresme about ten years prior to this, the inhabitants being ready to revolt, only dreading the puissance of king Athelstan. Secondly, there is a large cavity on the summit of the camp at Mainsforth, which is at this day called *the Danes hole*, where there was lately dug up a pair of mouse deer horns of an extraordinary size, probably brought from Ireland by Anlaf, as they seem peculiar to that kingdom. And lastly, that this county appears to have been the great scene of action between the Saxons, Danes, and Normans in the tenth and eleventh centuries, from the frequent revolts that occurred, and the necessity the English monarchs were under of appearing personally to subdue the turbulent disposition of the inhabitants.

it

it well be supposed that this was its termination, when we have a broad and extensive paved causeway leading to Old Wintringham, and another road running parallel with it on the opposite side of the river, which Dr. Drake, in his map of the Roman roads, styles *Humber Street*, pointing towards the Pagan temple at Godmanham; not to mention the necessity there was of commodious intercourses between *Lindum Colonia* and *Eboracum*?

I DIFFER, though with great deference, I must own, from this learned gentleman, who, I think, was well warranted, though he has overlooked the reasons for it, to have called the Humber Street the Fosse Way, in his Itinerary through the country; and to have directed its course to York, where we find some traces of the name in the rivulet Fosse, which runs for a few miles almost parallel with it; when arriving at Thornton le Street before mentioned, it branches off to the westward by Romanby and Catterick Bridge, and there meeting with the Ermin or Herman Street, they proceed to Gatherly Moor; the latter directing its course westward by Greta Bridge, Bowes, &c. the other pointing northward, passes near a village called Forcet, or Fosslet, and crossing the Tees enters the county of Durham; and continues its course by the stations of Binchester, Lanchester, Ebchester, Corbridge, Risingham and Rochester, and thence into Scotland; but whether it extends beyond the forts between the Forth and Clyde I will not determine. The learned Roger Gale indeed, in a letter to Mr. Warburton, Somerset herald, anno 1717, printed at the end of the *Vallum Romanum*, states this road to have terminated at Dunbritton Frith, in the west of Scotland.

ACCORDING to the arrangement here planned out, the course of the great Roman roads may, I think, be tolerably ascertained. And first *Watling Street*, commencing at Dover in Kent,

and

and continued by London, St. Albans, Dunstable, and Stony Stratford, through the centre of England to West Chester. Secondly, the *Ermin* or *Herman Street*, directing its course from the southern parts of the kingdom (probably Arundel) to Carlisle, by the way of London, Royston, Huntingdon, Doncaster, Aldborough, Catterick, Bowes, Appleby and Brougham. Thirdly, the *Icknild Street*, which is supposed to have had its beginning in Norfolk or Suffolk, and crossed the kingdom towards the south west parts through the counties of Herts, Oxford, Berks, and perhaps Wilts; but where it ended now uncertain. Fourthly, the *Fosse Way*, commencing in Devonshire or Somersetshire, continued to Lincoln, and according to the conjectures above-mentioned, to Graham's Dyke in Scotland. Fifthly, the *Rycknild Street*, originating at St. Davids, or Caermarthen in Wales, and supposed by our hypothesis to be continued from Monk's Bridge, Derbyshire, by Little Chester, Chesterfield, and the *Strata Roma* a Derby to York; and from thence by Thornton le Street to Sockburne, Sadberg, Stainton le Street, Bradbury, Mainsforth, Old Durham, Chester, and Gateshead to Shields and Tynemouth. I shall not at present enlarge further on the subject, but content myself with having pointed out a Roman way hitherto undescribed, which has certainly been carried on through the central parts of this county, and which the vestiges and strong-holds visible at this day serve to confirm; and as the traces of the Rycknild Street seemed to have been in a manner lost, I hope I have, with some degree of probability at least, recovered it, and safely conducted it from its origin to the termination given it by most of our historians. I am with the greatest regard,

Dear Sir,

Your most obliged and faithful humble servant,

JOHN CADE.

VII. *Letter from the Rev. Dr. Sharp, Archdeacon of Northumberland, to Mr. Cade.*

Read May 30, 1782.

DEAR SIR,

AS far as I can judge of a subject I am so little acquainted with, I entirely approve what you have written to Dr. Kaye. You have set me right in a mistake I have all along been under; viz. that it is the Fosse and not Watling Street, that runs through Ebchester, Corbridge, Rivingham, &c. This road divides into two branches on the other side of Corbridge, the easternmost of which leads through Rial, Capheaton, through my wood at Hartburn, then along Thornton Moor, and crosses the Coquet, I believe, near Brinkburn, and at last the Tweed into Scotland.

WHAT you call Rochester on the western branch of this road, I have seen spelt Richester, probably so called, from its vicinity to the river Reid, and was the *Bremenium* of the Romans; as appears by an altar or inscription found there. About thirty years ago I got a large stone inscription from Richester (which is now at Hartburn) three feet square, and from seven to ten inches thick, inscribed to the emperor Caracalla, and mentioning the *Equitata Milliaria*; the whole inscription is complete, except the name of the person who erected it, which has been purposely defaced with a tool to make room for bars; for I found it in the jamb of a fireplace in a cottage-house.

I have time to add no more, than that I am, Dear Sir,

Your obliged humble servant,

J. SHARP.

By another letter from Dr. Sharpe to Mr. Cade dated Jan. 2, 1784, it appears that the inscription here alluded to runs thus:

IMP. CAES. M. AVRELIO
SEVERO ANTONINO
PIO FELICI ✕ * PARTHICO * i. c. AVGVSTO
MAX. BRIT. MAX. GERM.
MAX. PONTIFICI MAXIM.
TRIB. POTEST. XVIII IMP. II
COS. III. PROCOS. P. P. COL. I
FIDA ARDVI. CR EODANTO
MANA FECIT SVB CVRA [a]
LEG. XX GR.

which was illustrated by the late learned Dr. John Taylor in Phil. Transf. vol. XLIV, N° 482, p. 344. He explained the name of the cohort *prima fida Vardulorum*, and the letters following it *civium Romanorum equitata milliaria Antoniniana*; the auxiliary cohorts being a mixture of horse and foot, and Hyginus *de Castrametatione* expressly mentioning *cohors equitata milliaria* as having *pedites septingentos sexaginta centurias decem, equites ducentos quadraginta turmas decem*.

WHAT follows he reads thus, *fecit sub cura TCO . . . legati, tribuni or centurionis legionis xx^{m^{ae}} Genio Romæ*. Which two last words are to be applied to the emperor, and contain a compliment at that time of day not unusual.

[a] After this Dr. Taylor's copy taken by Dr. Hunter 1744 has TCO.

VIII. *Mr. Bray on the Leicester Roman Miliary Stone.*
In a Letter to the Rev. Mr. Norris, Secretary.

Read November 15, 1781.

SIR,

IF the following account of a Roman inscription which has been lately found, and which will determine Leicester to be the station called *Ratae*, has not been already communicated to the Society, I will beg you to lay it before them.

I am, Sir,

Great Ruffel Street,
 Nov. 13, 1781.

Your very humble servant,

WILLIAM BRAY.

ALTHOUGH antiquaries in general agree in supposing that Leicester is the *Ratae Coritanorum* of the Romans, yet Camden and bishop Gibson speak of it with some doubt [a]. Horsley says it is undoubtedly so, and endeavours to fix it by the distances between *Venonæ*, *Ratae* and *Verometum* as mentioned in the Itinerary [b]. Stukeley affirms it without assigning any reason [c]. A miliary stone has however been lately discovered which demonstrates the certainty of it.

THE Fosse way from *Venonæ* to Newark on Trent leaves the town of Leicester a little on the right, crosses the river Soar be-

[a] Vol. I. p. 415.

[b] P. 437.

[c] Itin. Cur. I. p. 408.
 yond



IMRCAES
 DIV TRAIANPAR THEDI
 TRAIANHADRIA-NAVG
 POTM COSIHW RATIS
 H

yond Belgrave, and comes into what is now the turnpike road from Leicester to Melton Mowbray a little before it reaches the village of Thurmaſton, beyond which the turnpike leaves it, and goes off on the right, but the Foſſe way continues in a ſtraight line to Newark.

ON the ſide of this road where the turnpike is carried along the Foſſe way, about two miles beyond Leicester there was a kind of ſtepping block, little noticed; but in mending the road about the year 1773, they removed the earth which was round it, and by ſo doing diſcovered a ſtone lying at the foot of it, for which it had ſerved as a pedeſtal. This ſtone was two feet ten inches long, five feet five inches and an half in circumference. On it is the inſcription copied in the incloſed drawing [d]. The ſtone is of a gritty ſort, ſuppoſed by maſons to be from a quarry in Derbyſhire. It is preſerved in the garden of the turnpike-houſe near the place where it was found.

THE letters in the upper line are four inches long; in the others but three. The ſecond and third lines ſeem to have been continued round it, ſome traces of letters being viſible on the back part. The two ſtrokes at bottom probably denote the diſtance from *Ratae* or Leicester, with which it agrees, being about two miles.

It ſeems to be rather extraordinary that Camden ſhould be at a loſs to diſcover the ſtreet-way from Leicester to Lincoln, as it is ſtill viſible in many places, is well known in the country, and goes in a ſtraight line from Thurmaſton to Newark on Trent. It is paſſable on horſeback in a dry ſeaſon, but is bad to travel on after rain.

[d] See pl. VI.

IX. *Observations on the present Aldbrough Church at Holdernefs, proving that it was not a Saxon Building, as Mr. Somerset contends. In a Letter to the Rev. Mr. Norris, Secretary. By the Rev. Mr. Pegge.*

Read April 3, 1783.

DEAR SIR,

RELYING on the candour and benevolence of my good friend, John Charles Brooke, Esq. to put the best construction on the following observations respecting his memoir on the Saxon inscription in Aldbrough church, I have ventured to send it you. And indeed, as both he and I proceed upon the same ground and principle, the investigation of ancient truth, I may seem to have a fair claim to his indulgence, and an equitable demand to an impartial hearing at least.

THE inscription Mr. Somerset has produced is not of great antiquity, as he states, for Ulf, who first put it up, flourished but in the reign of king Edward the Confessor [a]. However, it is a Saxon inscription, and sufficiently both ancient and curious to merit the attention of our society. But the inference drawn from this concession, viz. that Aldbrough church, as now existing, is a fabric erected in the Saxon times, or before

[a] Archæologia, vol. VI. p. 43.

the Norman conquest, appears to me to be liable to two very specious, not to say formidable objections.

FIRST, There was no church at Aldbrough when Domesday survey was made, the record being entirely silent as to that particular; and yet, I presume, all the churches then in being are there very punctually recited. It may be said, perhaps, in reply to this, that the church at Kirkdale, where a Saxon inscription also occurs, is not mentioned in Domesday Book [b]. I answer, that the fabric at Kirkdale cannot be expected to appear there, as it was not properly a church, *i. e.* a rectory endowed with tythes, but only a chapel of ease [c].

THE second objection is, that this structure does not present us with any resemblance of Saxon architecture, but on the contrary, every thing there savours of a post-normannic æra [d]. Mr. Brooke himself confesses 'it now has a more modern appearance;' but this he endeavours to account for, 'from the succession of repairs it has undergone, and the addition of windows very different from the original lights.' A suggestion which may be admitted in regard to this or that part of a church; but surely, Sir, can by no means suffice for a whole and entire building. The arches within, which can never be thought to have been altered or repaired, those of the windows, and that of the door way into the chancel, are all elliptic, a mode of building never seen, I believe, in any Saxon erection whatsoever. There is, it seems, some hewn stone work in the lower part of the south wall of the chancel, 'such, says Mr. Brooke, as was generally used in our most ancient cathedral

[b] *Archæologia*, vol. VI. p. 44, in note.

[c] *Ibid.* vol. V. p. 196. Br. Willis, *Survey of Cath.* vol. I. p. 211.

[d] See Mr. Brooke's Print of the building.

'churches.'

'churches [e].' A circumstance, which, in my opinion, militates very strongly in favour of the recent erection of this church, our cathedrals of this style of building being all posterior to the conquest. It is observed, again, that there is some zigzag work in the door of the chancel, and upon this some brass is lay'd, Mr. Brooke remarking in regard to this particular, 'that this was a stile peculiar to the Saxon architecture.' This now appears to be plausible; but it should be remembered on the other hand, that though our Saxon ancestors often applied this species of ornament, as here stated and alledged, yet we find the succeeding architects did not so totally forsake it, but that they sometimes retained it, witness the zigzag mouldings noticed by Mr. Denne [f], as occurring in post-norman-
nic structures.

BUT now you will ask, how then do you reconcile this Saxon inscription, so positive and express, with the supposed recency, or post-norman-
nic erection of this church? This, Sir, I acknowledge, is a difficulty not easily to be removed; and I, for my part, can only do it by a supposition, which you will think but barely possible; to wit, that Ulf built a church, which in a few years, and by some means now unknown, was destroyed and lay in ruins, A. 1080, when Domesday book was made: that when the present fabric was erected, the old stone with its inscription, which had happily been preserved, was put up in the new structure, and in the place it now occupies: and lastly, that in all probability, Odo earl of Champagne, Albemarle and Holderness, or his son Stephen, was the person who founded the present church [g]; if at last it was built so early.

[e] *Archæologia*, vol. VI. p. 41.

[f] *Ibid.* p. 388.

[g] *Ibid.* p. 45.

To detain you, Sir, no longer; Mr. Brooke's Paper, on which I have here so freely animadverted, is nevertheless a very valuable memoir, and we are much obliged to him for it. I shall only add, that the three crosses combined, in the area of the stone, may probably allude to the Trinity; and that possibly Ulf's original church might be consecrated to the Trinity, though the present fabric is sacred to St. Bartholomew. But this is thrown out as a mere random and superfluous conjecture. I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

SAM. PEGGE.

X. *Particulars relative to a Human Skeleton, and the Garments that were found thereon, when dug out of a Bog at the Foot of Drumkeragh, a Mountain in the County of Down, and Barony of Kinalearty, on Lord Moira's Estate, in the Autumn of 1780. In a Letter to the Hon. John Theophilus Rawdon, by the Countess of Moira; communicated by Mr. Barrington.*

Read May 1, 1783.

IN the spring of the year 1781 lord Moira having ordered a survey to be made of a farm on his estate, his surveyor brought me a plait of hair, informing me that it was taken from the scull of a skeleton that had been long dug up by the tenant in the autumn of 1780. I lost no time in making an inquiry into the particulars of such a discovery, and the result of that inquiry was as follows:

THAT in a small turbary (not exceeding in extent an Irish acre) situated at the foot of the mountain *Drumkeragh* [a], about a mile eastward from the summit of *Sliabh Croobh* [b], as the
man

[a] Pronounced *Drumkera*.

[b] *Sliabh* in Irish signifies a mountain, and *Croobh* the paw of an animal, or a fit; and the present Irish say it took its name from the impression of the deers feet which were seen upon it. But as on its summit still remain the vestiges of
Druid

man was cutting turf for his winter's fuel, at the depth of four feet and a half, he had passed the bog and come to a hard gravel; and that having raised some of it for use, at a foot's depth (or something more) in that soil, he discovered the skeleton, laid with the feet towards the west, and the head to the east, at each of which was placed a rude unhewn stone [c] which he guessed might measure eighteen inches square: that the stature did not appear to exceed that of a very little woman; and that upon, and about the bones, there were many garments. Upon being asked if the bog had been before broken up in that spot, he said his father had cut it down five feet. The skeleton therefore, fifty years ago, lay near eleven feet beneath the surface of the bog. Upon demanding what he had done with the skeleton, he said that he had immediately buried it in a hole in the *moss* [d], excepting some fragments of the bones which accidentally had stuck to the cloathing. I desired the man to give me the garments, promising him a liberal recompence for the donation. He told me he was grieved to be only able to offer the coarsest and worst part of them: for that the better part had been carried off by different people soon after they had been found; and what remained had (as he thought them of

Druid worship, the rude altars, and the sacred well, and that during the æra of Druidical government their priests were not only the judges, but executioners of those who were doomed to death either as delinquents, or victims for sacrifice, I am inclined to suspect, that it was antiently styled *slabb'ere abb' ere* signifying death, and *abb* the point or termination of a weapon, or of a territory—and as a spot destined for human slaughter, might bear the appellation of the mountain of *final death*. A stone hatchet (similar to one in Sir Ashton Lever's Collection) and undoubtedly a sacrificial one belonging to the Druids, was dug up at the foot of this mountain a few years ago, and is in Lord Moira's possession.

[c] I had these sought for, but they could not be found, and it was positively denied by the tenants that they bore any signs of an inscription.

[d] Term for the place where they cut turf.

no consequence) been torn by children and pigs, and a part of them had been suffered to lye abroad tossed about in the bog. This description of the state they were in did not abate my anxiety to possess them.

THE territory in which this skeleton had been found was anciently held by the M'Curtons as a kind of Palatinate under the O'Neill's kings of Ulster; and the former, as the feudatories of the latter, were deeply engaged in the interests of those monarchs. I therefore conjectured, that the present object of my inquiry was one of that race, who had fallen [e] a prey to famine, in consequence of the prosecution of those humane me-

[e]. It seems but candid to seize any opportunity of relating what the antient Irish endured from the English, since the cruelties of the former are generally stated as not having arisen from a provocation. The author I shall quote in respect to the point of famine, being private secretary to Charles Blount lord Montjoy (afterwards earl of Devonshire) lord deputy of Ireland, cannot be supposed to give an aggravated description of that scene.

In Mr. Fynes Moryson's History of Ireland, vol. II. p. 282 and 284, the following passages may be met with—"Now as I have often made mention formerly, of our destroying the rebels' corn, and using all means to famish them, let me, by two or three examples, shew the miserable state they were thereby brought to. Sir Arthur Chichester, Sir Richard Moryson (the author's brother), and the other commanders of the forces sent against M'Art into Killulragh (the country about Glenevy) returning homeward, saw a horrid spectacle of three children, the eldest above ten years old, all eating, and gnawing with their teeth, the entrails of their dead mother, upon whose flesh they had fed twenty days past, and having eaten all from the feet upwards to the bare bones, roasting it continually by a slow fire, were now come to the eating of her said entrails in like sort half roasted, but not divided from her body, as being yet raw." He adds, that "the common sort were driven to extremities almost beyond the record of any history he had ever read;" relates that "some women were executed at Newry for killing and eating children; and no spectacle," writes he, "was more frequent in the ditches of towns, and especially in wasted countries, than to see multitudes of poor people dead, with their mouths all coloured green by eating docks, and all things they could rend from the ground."

rhods my countrymen continued to employ in Elizabeth's reign, to civilize the Irish, and conciliate their affections to their conqueror. From the cloathing I expected to have got some insight into the state of the flaxen and woollen manufactures amidst the native Irish at that period; since the wear of their linen tunic, consisting of thirty ells, and their mantle of woollen texture, were too rigidly prohibited by the English laws for any hope to get a sample of those habits, except by an incident of this nature. In a few hours I got the coarsest part of the garments; and rewarding the man beyond his hopes, he returned that day with the second plait of hair, and some fragments of a finer sort of manufacture, among which was the piece of gauze-like drapery, to me a convincing proof that he had asserted truth in regard to the better parts of the apparel having been carried off. I then sent the surveyor to purchase for me all the fragments he could hear of. He procured a bundle, but lost them on the road as he was bringing them to me; yet only regretted a piece of bright pale green, of a most beautiful colour, and of a light and delicate texture, though woven in troilled work. As in endeavouring to revive a piece that I imagined had originally been of a red dye there resulted a precipitation of verdigrease, I was inclined to suspect that this circumstance, and the colour of the remnant mentioned by the surveyor, arose from their having lain in contact with some implement of brass or copper; the adjacent soils affording no signs of a mine of the latter metal. This occasioned me to again question the man very particularly and strictly concerning the tomb or grave; and whether any weapons, or ornaments of brass or copper were found therein. He absolutely and strenuously denied finding any kind of metal whatever, and affirmed that the only materials

terials in which the bones and garments were inclosed, were a very hard gravelly substance. I now found that I had been guilty of an error in making so strict an enquiry; it was apparent that the man interpreted my questions of mere curiosity, into a suspicion of his having discovered a hidden treasure [f]. He became terrified, and grew so cautious and undecisive in his subsequent answers, that I could not gain any further intelligence.

To have the bog dug down into, and examined, was what appeared the only method left to gain further information. If

[f] This man's apprehensions are to be accounted for as follows: six or seven years ago, a report prevailed, and gained general belief, that a man in the neighbouring mountains had found and possessed himself of a treasure, consisting of a copper vessel, thinly lined with gold, a quantity of ingots of the same metal, and a plate and mug (as it was called) of gold with a number of handles. Those who had any knowledge of antiquities conceived these must be sacrificial vessels; supposed the first a cauldron, the second a patera, and the third a cup for libation or to take oaths upon. The man from poverty grew into all the appearance of affluence, maintaining a fair and unsuspected character. The common people, who were witnesses of his supposed good fortune, were seized with a phrenzy, and ransacked and overturned every heap of stones and karn they could meet with. At length the discoverer was taken up, but made no confessions, and was set at liberty. Yet some time after a watch-maker, to whom it was said he had confided his good fortune, produced his notes for money received, without any intimation of what it was for, and threw him into prison, where he was when I last heard of him, yet living at his ease and in plenty. The watch-maker affirmed he had lent him that money, on his only telling him he had found a treasure; this was not thought probable. The watch-maker had been in very low circumstances, and suddenly was in a state of easy ones. It was therefore suspected that he took advantage of the man's caution, in not specifying on what account he had received the sums for which he had given his notes, to lay him in gaol till he obliged him to come into what terms he might impose. This event, after having been the subject of much conversation in the neighbourhood, like other reports dyed away. The common people, seeing the object of their envy led to a gaol by what was the object of their pursuits, directly dropt them, and were as apprehensive of being supposed to be fortunate, as a short time before they had been eager for being so.

it

it had been an antient burial place, and there was a peculiarity in the soil, which preserved the garments from decay, it was natural to conclude, that other remains, with like habiliments, might be drawn forth from the cemetery it covered. But my absence from the county of Down, which took place in two days after I had seen the cloathing, and the incessant rains which prevailed on my return to it last autumn and the succeeding winter, have hitherto prevented that plan from taking place.

UPON an inspection of the garments, I was much disappointed not to find them correspondent to that æra to which my suppositions had affixed them. Yet, appearing to be composed of the hair of different animals, they seemed to me worthy of the investigation of some able naturalist, who, by deciding what quadrupeds had furnished these materials, might enable one to form a probable guess, to what period, and to the individual of what nation, they might belong.

I SHALL enumerate now the several fragments which fell into my hands; and afterwards what may occur to my memory, either from prints, or relations, of such particulars in dress or manufactures as appear to me to bear a degree of similitude to them.

N^o 1. is I think undoubtedly that piece of apparel called in French, "L'Aumusse; sorte de vêtement de tête et d'épaules dont on se servoit anciennement en France. Il étoit à la mode sous les Mérovingiens. La couronne se mettoit sur l'aumusse. On la fourra d'hermine sous Charlemagne; le siècle d'après on la fit toute des peaux: les aumusses d'étoffes prirent alors le nom de chaperon; celles des peaux retinrent celui d'aumusse. Peu à peu, les aumusses et les chaperons changèrent d'usage et de forme; le bonnet leur succéda; et il n'y a plus aujourd'hui que les chanoines et les chanoinesses, qui en ayent.

“ ayent. En été ils portent, pendant cette saison, sur leur bras, “ ce que servoit jadis en tout tems a leur couvrir la tête [g].

“ AUMUCES [l] ou aumusses; fourrure, que les chanoines et “ les chanoinesses portent sur leur bras en été, et dont ils se “ servoient autrefois pour se couvrir la tête en hiver. Pendant “ plus de mille ans on ne s'est couverte la tête en France que “ d'aumusses et de chaperons. Le chaperon étoit en usage des “ les tems des rois de la premiere race. On le fourra sous Char- “ lemagne d'hermine ou de menu-vair; en siecle suivant, on en “ fit tout-a-fait de peaux. Ces dernieres s'appellerent aumusses: “ ceux qui étoient d'etoffes retinrent les noms de chaperons. “ Les hommes et les femmes portoient des aumusses, et s'en “ couvroient la tête et les epaules.” That it proves to have been a part of the Gaulish dress, does not fix the nation of the individual to whom it appertained. The Gauls might have borrowed that fashion from other people; and it might be a garment equally worn by the more northern nations.

THE border around it, according to antient modes, must denote dignity or office in the wearer. It is of camlet, and was evidently of a different colour, or of a different shade, from the garment on which it was fixed. The toga praetexta had a border of purple round the edges. “ It seems originally,” says Kennet [i], “ to have been appropriated to the magistrates and some “ of the priests, when introduced by Tullus Hostilius: how it “ came to be bestowed on the young men is variously related.” The same author in the following page gives this quotation from Quintilian. “ I alledge too, the sacred habit of the praetexta, the robe of priests and magistrates, and that by which

[g] Encyclopedie.

[b] Dictionnaire des origines.

[i] Roman Antiquities, p. 309.

"we derive a holy reverence and veneration for the helpless condition of childhood." He adds, "we find that the citizens' daughters were allowed a kind of *prætexta*, which they wore till they were married." There is no difficulty in tracing the descent of this mark of distinction from the Romans to the Gauls; but it is to be recollected, that the former borrowed it from the Eastern nations [k]. Coarse as the manufacture may appear to be of which the *aumusse* is composed, the spinning and weaving are not the performance of rude artists; and the full herring bone troill, in which it is woven, is a proof that the works of the loom were not in their infancy with a people thus clothed. I have added a pattern of the sleeve and shoulder of a vestment, which must have answered the purpose of a waistcoat. It had either been much more worn, or much more injured, than the rest of the apparel; as, since the discovery, it soon fell to pieces. It had evidently been patched with the same sort of stuff, in a place which seemed not to have been worn out, but rent. The weaving being of a different kind, I have annexed a sample of the stuff to the form of the sleeve; the shape of which (if my memory does not deceive me) I do not remember to have met with a representation of in any collection of antiquities. By its size, it must have belonged to a slender person.

Nº 2. which I was told was the petticoat, has been so much injured, and has so little remaining of it, that an inquiry to de-

[k] This ornament was known in Europe by the name of *salbala*, and *furberlow*. As a distinction of rank with us, it is preserved in the different rows of ermine and lace affixed to the robes of peers. In the Parthian war, during the reign of Valerian, the Romans had carried this fashion of these enemies to that excess in their cloathing, that the emperor thought it requisite to restrain the use or abuse of it by a law.

termine what was the animal that furnished the materials for its composition is the only remark it can afford.

N° 3. Called an outward garment, was indubitably a sash or scarf, which was worn over one shoulder, and passed under the opposite arm. I have annexed two sketches [*] that are to be seen in Montfaucon's *Antiquities* taken from a bas-relief on the ruins of a Gaulish temple at Montmorillon in Poitou. An old man and a youth appear in that habiliment. The learned author supposes them to be the representation of some Gaulish divinities. The scarf or sash from early antiquity denoted dignity, office, or a band of union. They were worn by the Jewish priesthood, whose sacerdotal habits were plainly (from the adoption of linen) copied from the Egyptians. At Constantinople the blue and green scarfs appeared as the signals of a singular faction; and as the Crusaders brought back to Europe the polish and luxuries of the East, they adopted also their manners; and in a few centuries France expressed its factions, though in a more serious cause, by the same method. This ornament was also the reward for the lighter deeds of martial prowess displayed in tilts and tournaments, and most probably gave rise to the institutions of the various orders that the priesthood of Europe now bestow; and the sashes worn to this day by the military on duty demonstrate its having been an ensign of command in antient times. The variety of stuffs and colours of which this part of the apparel is composed more strongly decides it to be an honorary badge. Amongst the Irish the Brehon laws allowed the king and queen to wear seven colours in their cloathing; the Druids six, and the nobles five. Amidst various fragments to be met with in this part of the dress, that which is tufted, resembling ermine, is exceedingly curious; and that of mohair is perfect and rich of its kind. The troilled

[*] Plate VII. fig. 1, 2.

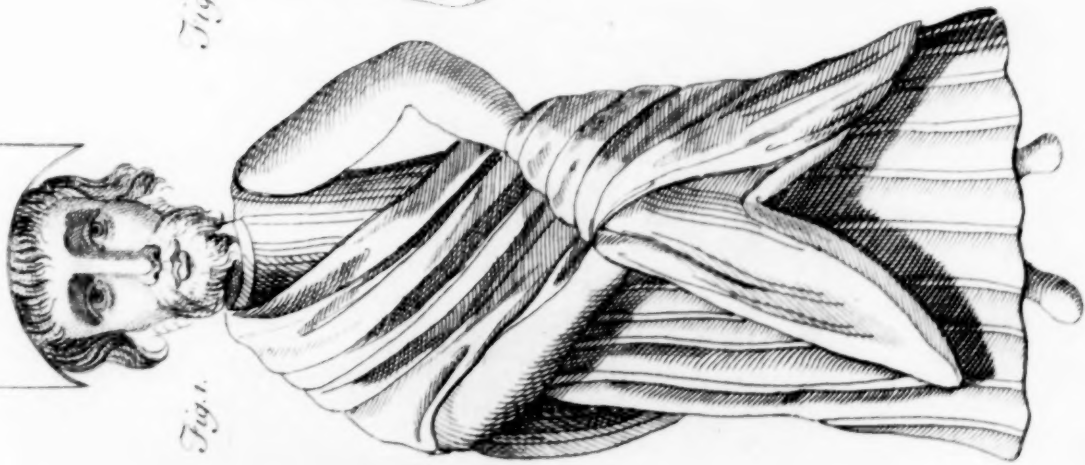


Fig. 1.

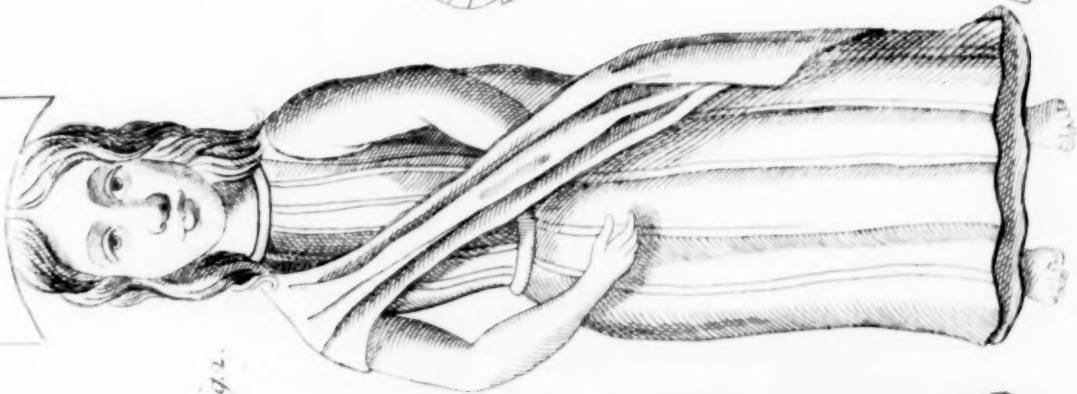


Fig. 2.

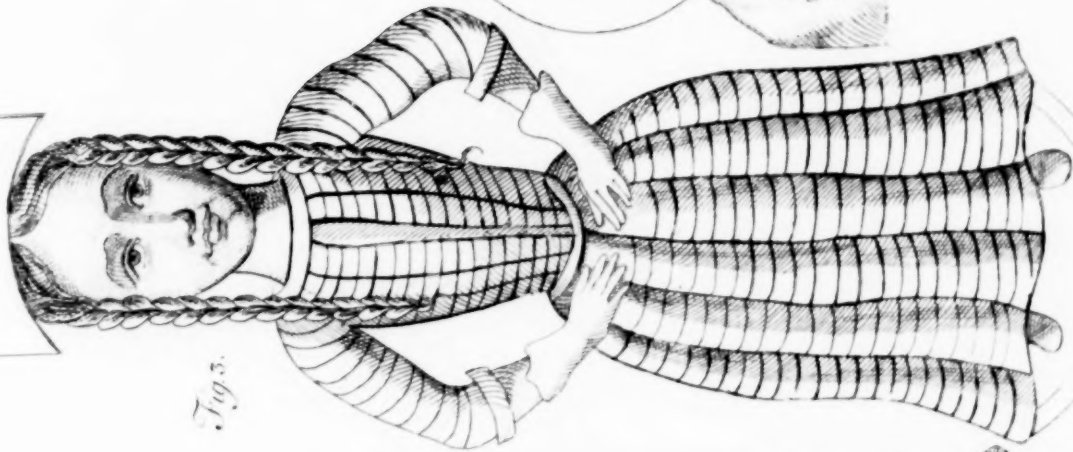


Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.

piece, of two colours, that woven like a coarse gauze, and the lining in a diaper pattern, present samples which prove that the art of weaving was far advanced at that period. A doubt must however arise, whether they were Irish manufactures. The border around the aumusse is of camelat, or camlet. The mohair is fabricated from the hair of a goat unknown in Europe; and it seems difficult to account for their being found in almost the extremity of that quarter of the world. It could only be by commerce; and at what period did a commerce exist between the East and Ireland? I think it cannot be supposed to be at any other, than when the Phœnicians established their religion in that island.

N^o 4. the man told me was laid over the skeleton. It appears to have been a kind of mantle, but no way correspondent to the old Irish mantles [4], which were of the size, and answered the purpose, of the Scotch plaids. Spenser expressly says, that the natives could wrap themselves up in them, as they slept in the woods,

[4] The tribute paid by Ulster, Leinster, and Connaught to Bryan Boiroimhe (Borovey) for the maintenance of his house and state at Ceannehora (Kincora) was from each yearly 2670 beeves, 1,370,420 loads or tuns of iron, 500 mantles, 365 tuns of red wine from the Danes of Limerick, and from the Danes of Dublin 150 pipes of white wine. From the Munster Book of Rights.

Amidst his other tributes, the number of mantles from Concomruadh were 200, from Tuatharu 200 green mantles. Irish Book of Rights.

Leinster, as an additional tribute for his having assisted against Leath-Cuerin, paid him 300 coloured mantles. By the yearly rights of the house of Cashell that king received 400 mantles yearly; and amongst the gifts he made to his tributaries when he collected them for battle, or to attend him to the assembly of the monarch, he gave the prince of Raith-leann 10 blue and 10 red mantles.

The king of Ulster of the race of Nial or O'Neil received likewise an ample tribute of the same cloathing; and when he called the prince of Boghaine to the field, he gave him 6 horses, 6 shields, 6 swords, 6 cups, 6 blue mantles, 16 green outside coats. On the prince of Craoible joining him, he gave him 3 green mantles.

woods, "and thus secure themselves from the annoyance of "gnats;" and adds, "the Irishman in his mantle, close hooded over his head as he useth, may pass through any country "or town without being known." The lower order of women, according to the same author, wore the mantle also; which, with the linen tunic, and a quantity of linen cloth about their heads, composed their whole dress. The mantle was of the highest antiquity amidst the Irish; it was always a part of the tribute paid by the inferior kings to their monarch; and was one of the gifts of the latter to them: and from the numbers received, was certainly, according to the eastern mode, the common donation bestowed upon their vassals. They were not only worn, but served as coverings to a kind of beds, on which the Irish reposed. Green, scarlet, blue, and embroidered ones are particularly mentioned in the list of tributes; and likewise robes; which shews those garments were of a different sort. The embroidered ones I take to be those which had borders stitched upon them, either plain or in waves of a different colour.

Nº 5. There are two plaits of this hair (one of them remaining in lord Moira's collection) but exactly similar to each other. They were plaited in a very tight close manner, till deranged by modern curiosity. I have annexed two sketches from Montfaucon, to shew the manner in which they were worn [*]. The first is taken from the bas-relief already mentioned, and supposed

When the monarch of Ireland called the king of Ulster to the field or to a public assembly, he gave him 10 ships, 11 cups, 50 horses, 50 swords, 50 large robes, 50 coats of mail, 50 mantles, 50 knives, 10 greyhounds, 20 handful of leeks, and 20 swan eggs. The mantles the king of Ulster received from his tributaries were as follows: from the prince of Maighline 500, from the prince of Seimhnu 150, from the prince of Crotraidhe 100, from the prince of Forthnathawarda 100. This list might be continued; but what has already been transcribed seems sufficient.

[*] See plate VII. fig. 3, 4.

by

by the illustrious antiquary to have been a Gaulish divinity. If I might presume to doubt what he asserts, I should think the representation was an hieroglyphical history. The other is a princess of the Merovingian race, and has the nimbus [m]; and in a print taken from a carving in the cathedral of Chartres, which represents several of the princes of the same race, Clothildis, wife of Clovis, appears with long pendant locks, enriched with bands; but Ulthragatha, queen to Childibert, and Clothaire the youngest son of Clovis by Clothildis, have their hair plaited in long tresses, similar to that taken from the scull of the skeleton, but much larger; and the garment of the latter over his shoulders seems to resemble the aumusse. It is to be remarked, that they all have the nimbus. From an Isis in Montsaucon, and another in Bouchard's Antiquities of Rome, it is apparent that it was also an Egyptian mode. In doctor Stukely's print of the Isis at Wilton, the tresses are twisted, and not plaited; but they hang down on each side of the head in the same manner, as these of the goddesses of the Gauls, and the descendants of Meroveus. It therefore seems dubious to me, whether it was merely a mode of dress, or, like the nimbus, intended to express some attributes of divinity; the mythology of Egypt abounding as it did with mysterious representations.

N° 6. Ornaments found upon the scull, interwoven with the shorter hair. That they were of different colours is still perceivable; and when I got them, their falling into circles plainly shewed that they had been wound upon some substance of a stiff texture. The Peruvian diadem was of the same kind, but bound across the forehead; and they certainly were answerable to that sign of princely or regal dignity.

N° 7. is a remnant of a kind of gauze drapery, which is called a veil, as it was found covering the face. The fringe and

[m] Antiquities of France, plate IX.

the selvage of this fragment demand a minute examination, and the whole bears a resemblance to some of the manufactures of the East, from its muslin appearance, its breadth, and the different coloured thread thrown in at the selvage, and above the fringe. I rather esteem it the face-cloth than a veil; a piece of apparel from the remotest antiquity bestowed upon the dead [n]. The sudarium took its rise from this custom, and it is probable that the face cloths were threefold. In the changes of religion, antient customs, which the people would not relinquish, have had new sources established for the favourite rites; thus in Ireland the Beil-tain, or fires formerly lighted on the hills, in honor of Baal, could not be abolished, but are now lighted on Midsummer-eve in honor of St. John. I have been inclined to suspect that the last mentioned fragment is made of human hair, and that it was a pious, sad offering of tributary grief, which some person, loving or beloved, had bestowed on a lamented object snatched from them in the bloom of youth, and season of friendship. The shaving of the head, and the cutting off the hair, in token of sorrow and mourning, were customs of the East too well known to make it requisite to dwell upon them: the sacrifices of it also, offered to the infernal Deities, are equally noted. Some other small pieces which I likewise procured, though woven in a closer and coarser manner, I fancied to have been of the same materials, and tributes of the same nature.

Nº 8. I have reason to suppose was the largest garment, as it was said that the skeleton was laid upon it. The two small

[n] I never could gain any information as to the length of this piece of drapery which satisfied me, though I was most particular as to that point; as long again, or thrice as long again as the remnant I procured, was the only answer I could obtain. If a veil, it must have been of greater length.

fragments

fragments of bones have taken their hue from the bog-water, which has also tinged much of the cloathing.

THE first point to be investigated is the striving to ascertain of what materials the cloathing is made. Much of them is evidently of hair [o]; and I suspect they will all be found to be composed of that material. If the Irish moose deer (which Mr. Kalm in his *Travels* says is the elk) has contributed his spoils towards their fabrication, to what a remote period would it carry them; since there remains no written tradition of those animals having existed in this island, their horns and bones, which are dug up from time to time, being the only proof of it!

It is impossible to fix an idea of date from the growth of the bog, since, taking its rise from the cutting down of trees which have stopt small streams, or currents of water, in the degree they are impeded, or according to the situation of the land, it will make a slower or more rapid progress. It has been known to have grown a foot or two in half a century; but in the year 1692 some workmen cutting turf for firing in a bog in Tipperary ten feet beneath its surface, found a cap, or crown of gold [p], weighing five ounces, and curiously wrought, supposed to have belonged to one of the provincial kings in the reign of Bryan Boiromhe (or Borovey) as that monarch was killed at the battle of Clanturf in 1034. That bog had grown but ten feet (al-

[o] In a letter from Mr. Andrew Paschall (dated in December 2, 1689), to Mr. John Aubrey a fellow of the Royal Society, he informs him of a tomb found deep under ground in the year 1674 in the isle of Athelney, in which were found a scull and some other bones, earth, dust, and some cloathing, and that he sent him a fragment of the latter, but that he cannot imagine what it can be made of, unless of some foreign fine hair. See *Miscellanies on several curious subjects* now first published from their respective originals, printed 1723.

[p] Preface to Keating's *History of Ireland* where there is a print of the cap or crown.

lowing

lowing that the crown had not been buried, and had fallen on a level) in the lapse of 658 years. If we suppose it to have been a druidical crown (and it does not resemble the representations of other royal Irish crowns), it would be of a much more remote date. On questioning the surveyor relative to the situation of the bog beneath which the skeleton was found, he told me that there was so considerable a fall in it from the east to the west, that it must have been the growth of many centuries.

As to the duration of the cloathing, it must be partly owing to the durable nature of hair, and partly to the property of the soil. In the year 1747 I took from the scull of Humphrey duke of Gloucester, in his vault at St. Alban's, a lock of hair which was so perfectly strong that I had it woven into Bath rings. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, there was a sepulchre found in the monastery at Amesbury [q], hewn out of a stone, and placed in the middle of a wall, by the destruction of which it was discovered. On its coverture it had in rude letters of massy gold R. G. A. C. 600, and was supposed to be the tomb of the famous Guinever, queen to king Arthur. "The bones
" within which sepulchre," writes the author, "were all
" firm [r]; fair yellow coloured hair about the scull, and a
" piece of the liver. Therein were found several royal habili-
" ments, as the jewels, veils, scarves, and the like, retaining,
" even till then, their proper colour; all which were afterwards
" very choicely kept in the collection of the right honourable
" the earl of Hertford; and of the aforesaid gold divers rings

[q] Stone Henge restored by Inigo Jones, fol. p. 17.

[r] It should seem the nature of hair to gain that yellowish hue in the grave; as queen Guinever (if it was her sepulchre) having been married in the beginning of the sixth century, could hardly escape being grey-haired at the conclusion of it. Neither was Humphrey duke of Gloucester a young man, and his hair was exactly of the colour of the plait taken from the scull of the skeleton.

" were

“ were made, and worne by his lordship’s principal officers.” The garments in this instance were near a thousand years old, and the hair still more antient. The cloathing on king Edward the First also [s] proves, though of so much later a date, that the cause of decay is various, and is hastened or retarded by circumstances that we are often ignorant of. Several barrows or karns, on having been opened, according to Borlase in his History of Cornwall, have appeared to have had a lining of clay, which must have been brought from a distance; and as there are beds of very tenacious clay at two or three miles distance from the spot of the skeleton’s interment (and probably nearer), I conjecture that the gravel, which the man called of a hard substance, was kneaded up with that sort of clay, which the fall of the earth kept secure from being carried off, or moistened by the mountain torrents, after the karn or barrow that had been placed over it was destroyed.

As to the nation to which the object of the present inquiry belonged, I think it difficult to form more than a vague supposition. Part of the dress, as I have shewn, resembles that worn by the Gaulish princes in the latter end of the fifth and beginning of the sixth century. The Gauls, as they are styled by Keating, or Normans, as they are called by M’Curtin, came with sixty ships, and landed in the north of Ireland, about the middle of the ninth century; but the Danes then settled in the land joined with the natives to drive these new invaders out of the kingdom. These people were probably the antient Neustrians, who sought shelter from the ravages of the Danes on their coasts. The diminutive stature of the skeleton, and the plaiting of the tresses, has induced it to be esteemed a female one; but it appears that this ornament and other parts of the dress were worn by both sexes; and without having recourse to very remote antiquity, it is possible to prove, that it is not

[s] See *Archæologia*, vol. III. p. 380—385.

requisite a hero should be six feet high. When the English ambassador seemed discontented with the Valesian prince, the destined husband of queen Elizabeth, as not being sufficiently tall, Catherine of Medicis in defence of her son informed him, that king Pepin and Bertrand de Guesclin were not five feet high; and the earl of Perche met with his death from the enraged dwarf, for having contemptuously expressed his surprise, at finding that able warrior, Ranulph earl of Chester, of a pigmy stature. It is therefore possible, that the bones might have been those of a Neustrian chieftain, who died a prisoner with the Danes; for, had he fallen in the field of battle, the victors would have rendered testimony of his honorable death, by allowing his followers to have erected one of those mounds which are so frequently met with as memorials of a like event. A great Danish fort, called Dunbey Mount, stands half a mile distant from the place where the skeleton was discovered towards the north; and towards the north-east, at fifty perchs distance, there is a small fort or rath; many of which stone-raths or forts, are to be seen in this mountain of Drumkeragh (Drumkera) and almost in every mountain in the county; which arises from this cause, that the raths were the antient judgement seats of the Irish; and as there was a period when the Druids were the sole legislators in this island, it is reasonable to suppose, that these tribunals, from which justice was dispensed, would be found peculiarly numerous around these mountains dedicated to religious rites. And the Danes (as Spenser corroborates by his authority) converted these raths into forts. The Danes that are said to have landed in Ireland under Turgeius in the year 815, quickly and entirely reduced the kingdom to the most abject degree of slavery; not only depriving the natives of their artificers by totally employing them, but they permitted not the Irish to wear any garments, except those that had been worn and cast off

by

by a Dane. Turgesius assumed the title of king of Ireland; and after reigning thirteen years, he was seized by the Irish, his people defeated, and himself drowned by the conquerors in Lough Annin in the county of Westmeath, in the year 879. As the slaughter of the Danes at this period was considerable, and their chief power lay in the north, the object of our inquiries might be an individual of that nation, to whom the confusion of the times did not permit erecting a tumulus which could withstand the power of time. Or it might be a youthful prince, who died of sickness; or a female of the chieftain's race, in both which instances, funeral trophies were considerably abridged. The arguments against these suppositions are, that the Danes had adopted the manufactures of the Irish; and that needle work, embroidery, silver and gold, had their prices regulated by the decrees of Mugdoun, the daughter of Mogha [1], as early as the year 192 of the Christian era; yet the needle-work on the garments in question can scarcely be supposed to have been performed with an instrument of metal; and that the art of sewing should have made so small a progress in above five hundred years seems impossible. Sumptuary laws were also enacted by that princess, a convincing proof that the luxuries of apparel were then commenced; and though the cloathing is curious, it cannot be said to correspond to a period of luxury. Spenser himself acknowledges that the Irish were a more polished nation than the English in Henry the Second's reign. The use of linen was from the remotest time known in Ireland; an undoubted proof, that at least a large colony were of Phenician or Egyptian origin; and the fashion of their tunic, and their method of dying it [u], are additional proofs thereof.

IN

[1] Translations from Sir John Sebright's Collection by Major Vallancy.

[u] The scarlet and purple linen used by Moses in the construction of the Tabernacle, and the uses of linen by the Jewish priesthood, were Egyptian manufactures

IN considering whether it might not be the remains of a Dane, it will occur, that this nation generally used urn-burial; yet Hubba [w] is said to be interred.

THE spot where these bones were found we may conclude had been a consecrated grove, appertaining to the high place on the mountain; and whether levelled by religious zeal, or in the course of war, the trees of which it was formed, impeding the currents from the adjacent hills, or that of the springs it contained, produced the morass. The victims to druidical justice, or to their religious rites, were equally held sacred; nor were the former, it appears [x], ever, nor the latter always, burnt in other cases. It may therefore remain doubtful, where and how these holy carcases were interred. The feet of the skeleton were laid to the east, and the head to the west. From the following quotation it will appear, that tradition retained an idea of some cause for this position. "In the Scottish isles the vulgar never come to the antient sacrificing or fire hallowing karns, but they walk three times round them, from east to west, according to the course of the sun, the right hand bearing over the heap or karn; and on the contrary they turn from right to left by the north, when the body faces the east; which was also used by the Druids, and called Tunphol [y]." The manner in which the body was laid, appears by this to have

factures and modes. The saffron coloured linen tunics, in which Camden mentions O'Neil and his followers to have paid their visits to Elizabeth, were not dyed in saffron, but a kind of lichen that grows upon the rocks, and is prepared by the Irish as archil. I have seen of the dye, and it resembles saffron in the mass, that shade of yellow which borders upon a dark brown.

[w] A note to Hearne's *Life of Alfred*.

[x] The stone hatchets were generally employed on these occasions.

[y] Quoted from Toland's *History of the Druids* by Borlase, *History of Cornwall*, p. 129.

been

found in Drumkeragh in the County of Down. 109

been according to some druidical ceremony; and if the garments have existed eight or nine centuries, sending them back five or six more, seems only ranking their antiquity with the bands of linen with which the Egyptian mummies are still found swathed. On the sides of the mountains of Slave Croab and Drumkeragh, the remains of many walls still appear, and, from the materials lying near them, are supposed to have been of a great height. As they bear no appearance of mortar, and the Danes built with a kind that is become as hard as the stones they connected, those dry buildings, as well as the karns, or altars on the summit of the mountain, must be looked upon as the ruins of the rude monuments erected by the Druids during their sway in this island. Though the variety of colours in the apparel does not correspond to the general description given of a Druid's dress, yet, by the Brehon law, we find, they were permitted in Ireland to wear six colours. The cloathing for the head and shoulders I conjecture to have been red, and that the corrosion of lead used in the dye has occasioned the astringent bog-water to have struck it of its present hue. The mantle, upon which it had not the same effect, I take to have been green, or a purple made from archil [z]. I confess I am puzzled at not finding any traces of linen; but as a much greater part of the apparel, than what I procured, had

[z] One of the first printed books contains the receipt for the preparation of archil, which produced the blue purples alone (according to Pliny's account) antiently: they have lately attained to making reds from it. I take this to have been the colour our kings formerly wore, under the name of blue, as that colour produced from woad must have been too common and too dull a one to have gained a royal choice. To a corrosion of lead the antient purple or crimson owed its beauty; like as at this day, our brightest colours owe theirs to solutions of metals. I have endeavoured to revive both colours, and do conceive that it is so far possible to succeed, as to ascertain what they were.

been

been carried away, perhaps there might have been some flaxen manufacture in that portion, or it might have fallen into that natural state of decay, which the remaining garments have so wonderfully resisted.

I CANNOT but regret, that this mutilated and conjectural account is all at present that is in my power to offer. The researches of the ensuing summer, I flatter myself, may afford some further materials, to reassume the topic with more accuracy, and a fuller degree of information.

XI. *A further Account of Discoveries in the Turf Bogs of Ireland.* By Richard Lovell Edgeworth.

Read June 5, 1783.

DEAR SIR,

I ONCE mentioned to you the coat which my friend Mr. Fox delivers to you with this letter. It was found ten years ago fifteen feet under ground, in a turf bog or peat moss, and along with it many hundred iron heads of arrows, some bowls of beech and alder and other wooden utensils, many of which were unfinished, and two or three sacks full of nuts.

THERE were also the remains of a work shop, &c. which make it probable that this spot has been a large wood where turners had been employed, to one of which the uncouth habit I have sent you belonged.

I EXAMINED the place very carefully. It is a large moor, situated in a valley, and has been formed by a congeries of leaves, twigs, and branches of different kinds of trees, many of which remain tolerably found, in oblique strata in different parts of the bog; and in some places very large roots of oak lye above the surface, which must have been forced up from the hard soil below to the height of twenty feet, by the lateral pressure of the bog during its formation.

THE coat is remarkable in nothing but its texture, which the knitters and weavers of this country are unable to imitate;
and

and its antiquity, which must from the time that such a depth of bog requires for its formation have been very considerable, perhaps two centuries.

THE farmer in whose possession I saw it shortly after it was found, when I lately applied to him for the coat seemed to prize it, like the Chinese, merely because another person wanted it.

I HOWEVER thought you might gratify some person who loves such things, and have therefore taken the liberty of sending it to you.

I am, dear Sir,

Your most obedient

Edgeworth Town,
Mullingar, Ireland,
Oct. 27, 1782.

and obliged servant,

RICH. LOVELL EDGEWORTH.

XII. *On the Progress of Gardening. In a Letter from the Hon. Daines Barrington to the Rev. Mr. Norris Secretary.*

Read June 13, 1782.

DEAR SIR,

AS the progress in architecture from the earliest and rudest times hath frequently been the subject of dissertation, perhaps it may not be uninteresting to trace the gradual improvements in both fruit and pleasure gardens [a].

THE first artificial garden, of which any particulars at least are stated, seems to be that of Solomon: "I planted me vineyards, I made me gardens and orchards, and I planted trees in them of all kinds of fruit: I made me pools of water, to water therewith the wood that bringeth forth trees [b]."

As for the gardens of Babylon, they could only have been celebrated for the great expence which must have attended the piling so much earth as was necessary for planting trees in so singular a position [c]. As the Asiatics indeed seldom vary in their taste or manners, we have some chance of guessing how the eastern gardens were formerly laid out, from the descrip-

[a] "When ages grow to civility and elegancy, men come to build stately sooner than to garden finely, as if gardening were the greater perfection." Bacon's Essays.

[b] Ecclef. ii. 4.

[c] Athenæus speaks of a garden in a still more extraordinary situation, viz. that of a large ship, which belonged to Hiero king of Syracuse.

tion of them in more modern times. Now Figueroa, who was ambassador from the court of Spain to that of Persia in 1617, informs us, that at Shiras the royal garden was so large that it appeared like a forest, the trees consisting of cypress, planes, and elms, which were planted in squares and avenues, intermixed with thickets of roses. The fruits were grapes, pears, pistachia nuts, and almonds. Amidst these plantations was a large and beautiful lake.

HOMER, in the seventh book of his *Odyssey*, after describing Alcinous's palace, as having gold and silver statues, proceeds to the royal garden, which is stated to be four acres [d] in extent, and that the fruits consisted of grapes, pears, olives, and figs, which were watered by two fountains.

LAERTES's garden in the twenty-fourth book of the *Odyssey* hath the same fruits; but is fenced with hedges. It hath also two fountains.

As for that of Calypso in the fifth book, it seems to have been fixed upon by this semi-goddes for its pleasing situation, without having owed any thing to art, or labour, more than the beautiful spots in Juan Fernandez, or Tinian, when visited by lord Anson.

ALL these more early gardens seem therefore to have been made chiefly for supplying the common fruits of the climate; which being also a warm one, and requiring fountains, they always make part of the description. I do not find that they had either flowers, or any of the plants which we use in our kitchens.

I do not recollect any very particular account of a garden in the Greek writers, though it is well known that they had groves, or avenues planted with trees in the Athenian schools:

“Atque inter sylvas Academi quærere verum.” Horace.

[d] This is said to be large, *μεγας ορχαρος*.

THE same may be observed with regard to Roman gardens till the time of Martial, though general mention is made of those of Lucullus [e] and Augustus Cæsar [f]. It should seem that these were walks, with regular plantations of trees [g], as Virgil, in his Georgics, recommends the form of a quincunx.

“ Non animum modo uti pascat prospectus inanem.”

from which it is conceived, that such regular lines were supposed to contribute to beauty. In the private gardens there were commonly sweet smelling shrubs and flowers [g].

“ — tum violaria, et

“ Myrtus, et omnis copia narium,

“ Spargent olivetis odorem

“ Fertilibus domina priori.”

Horace.

TOWARDS the end of the first century, however, it appears clearly by the following epigram of Martial, that the prevailing taste was to have *clipt box* [b], amongst myrtles and planes.

[e] Plutarch indeed mentions that they had *ædes*; or mounts in them, probably to command the adjacent country. Cicero, in his letters to Atticus, appears to be frequently anxious about his gardens, but he does not describe how they were laid out.

[f] It is believed that these gardens or perhaps public walks were begun by Julius Cæsar “prope Cæsaris hortos.”

Phædrus also mentions a garden of Tiberius Cæsar near Naples, but it is only described as *viridarium*.

[g] Often *pinus*,

Fraxinus in sylvis pulcherrima, *pinus in hortis*.

Virgil.

[b] At Pliny's Villa some of the box was cut into the letters of his own name, and that of his gardener. See L. v. Ep. 6. The cypress is still much planted by the Italians from its growing as if it had been clipt. It also appears in some of the Herculaneum vignettes.

“ Baiana nostri villa, Bassæ, Faustini,
 “ Non otiosis ordinata myrtetis,
 “ Viduâque platano, *tonsilique buxeto*,
 “ Ingrata lati spatia detinet campi,
 “ Sed rure vero, barbaroque lætatur.” L. iii. Ep. 58.

By other epigrams of the same poet we find, that considerable improvements in forcing trees, both for fruit and flowers, had been successfully practised:

“ Invida purpureos urat ne bruma racemos,
 “ Et gelidum Bacchi munera frigus edat,
 “ Condita perspicuâ vivit vindemia gemmâ,
 “ Et tegitur felix, nec tamen uva latet.”

Grapes therefore seem to have been forced by putting glass before them, or perhaps by what we call a green-house. By the same means Tiberius had cucumbers during the whole year [i].

THE rose was the favourite shrub in Italy, as it hath ever been in other countries, which occasioned its early flowers to be in such request [k] as to send them from Egypt to Rome, the climate of the former being so much warmer than that of Italy.

THIS was probably managed by planting them in pots as soon as the buds began to appear; but, to save this expence, the Ro-

[i] Columella, l. xi. c. 3.

[k] I conceive that they were more frequently used for chaplets at their banquets, as I do not recollect either the Greek or Latin term for a nosegay.

— *γάβος δὲ πρᾶξι*

Ποικίλον.

Anacreon.

And again,

Ροζῆων σφαιρῶν

Περικλῆταιος κερύσων.

man gardeners found out a method of forcing roses in Italy, so as to make it unnecessary to send to Egypt for them.

MARTIAL again alludes to this in the following epigram :

“ Ut nova dona tibi, Cæsar, Nilotica tellus,
“ Miserat hybernas ambitiosa rosas,
“ Navita derisit Pharios Memphiticus hortos,
“ Urbis ut intravit limina prima tuæ.
“ At tu Romanæ jussus jam cedere brumæ
“ Mitte tuas messes, accipe Nile rosas.” L. VIII. Ep. 68.

PERHAPS hot-houses, or hot walls, might have contributed to these more early productions; and it is remarkable, that at this same period the Romans first found out the luxury of ice in cooling their liquors:

“ Non potare nivem, sed aquam potare rigentem
“ De nive, *commenta est ingeniosa fitis.*” L. XIV. Ep. 117.

With us hot and ice-houses were introduced about the same time, and gentlemen's gardens have seldom the one without the other.

THOUGH the Romans thus forced roses, yet I do not recollect any proofs that they were curious about other flowers or shrubs; they often planted myrtles and rosemary however in the gardens of their villas [l]. Their fruit trees seem to have been chiefly grapes, pears, figs, and mulberries [m].

[l] See Pliny's Letters.

[m] Pliny's Letters, L. 11. Ep. 17. The practice of grafting was well known to both Greeks and Romans. It appears also by Columella that the latter had more than twenty sorts of pears, and by the poem *de Hortorum Cultura*, that in the time of Claudian many kinds of lettuce were cultivated, as likewise other kitchen herbs.

UPON the fall of the Roman empire little attention can be supposed to have been paid to gardening, and the earliest description of any such inclosure [n] I have happened to stumble upon, when science began to dawn, is that belonging to the Hotel de St. Paul at Paris, which was made by Charles the Fifth of France about the year 1364 [o]. In this garden were apples, pears, cherries, and vines. There were also peas and beans, beds of rosemary and lavender, with very large arbours.

THOUGH the scene in the famous *Romant de la Rose* (written in the fifteenth century) lies chiefly in a garden, yet I do not recollect that such circumstances are stated, as to enable us to discover in what manner they were then laid out [p].

AT the beginning however of the sixteenth century, we had *green-houses* in England, as one of Leland's poems is entitled,

“ *Horti Gulielmi Guntheri, hyeme vernantes.*”

IN his Itinerary also he notices the following gardens,

“ At Morle in Derbyshire there is as much pleasure of orchards of great variety of frute, and fair made walks, and gardens, as in any place of Lancashire.”

[n] Fitz Steven indeed states that the citizens of London in the time of Henry the Second had gardens to their villas; but mentions no particulars, except that they were large, beautiful, and planted with trees.

[o] Annual Register for 1764, which however does not cite the authority.

[p] I have re-examined the *Romant de la Rose*, and can only find that the garden had a path bordered with mint and fennel,

Par une bien petite sente

Bordee de fanoul et mente,

and that the flowers were violets and periwinkle,

Violette y estoit moult belle

Et aussi *parvanche* nouvelle.

AGAIN

AGAIN at Wrexhill, on the Ouse in Yorkshire,

"AND in the orchards were mounts opere *topiario* [q], written about with degrees like turnings of cockleshells, to cum to the top without payne."

"THE castle of Thornbury [r] had an orchard of four acres with sundry fruit trees."

THESE three instances seem to shew, what were the gardens commonly which belonged to considerable houses in the time of Henry the Eighth, but in the fifth volume of the *Archaeologia* we have several other particulars relative to that king's garden, at his favourite and magnificent palace of Non-such [s].

THESE circumstances appear in a survey taken in the year 1650, when it probably continued in exactly the same state as it was at the death of Henry the Eighth [t].

It is herein stated to have been cut out and divided into several allies, quarters and rounds, set about with thorn hedges. On the north side was a *kitchen garden* very commodious, and surrounded with a brick wall of fourteen feet high. On the west was a wilderness severed from the little park by the hedge, the whole containing ten acres. In the privy garden were pyramids, fountains,

[q] Or cutting trees into particular forms.

[r] In Gloucestershire, *Lel. Coll.* vol. II. p. 661.

[s] Henry the Eighth had during his reign either built or greatly improved so many of his palaces, that I find the following passage in Leland.

"Remember to conclude with promise to write a booke in Latine of the king's edifices, as Procopius did of Justinian's the emperor." *Itin.* vol. VII. p. 108. He also introduced the Kentish cherries. See Fuller's *Worthies*. Philemon Holland (in his additions to Camden) says that Richard Harris *Fruiterer* was employed for this purpose. These cherries were planted in many parishes near Tenham. *Ibid.*

[t] It is believed that this palace was not resided in by any of Henry's successors, at least for any time.

and

and basons of marble, one of which is set round with six *lelack* trees, which trees bear no fruit, but only a very pleasaunte flower.

IN the privy garden were also one hundred and forty fruit trees, two yews, one juniper, and six *lelacks*. In the kitchen garden were seventy-two fruit trees and one *time* tree [u]. Lastly, before this palace was a *neate* and *baundsome* bowling-green, surrounded with a balustrade of free stone.

IN this garden therefore at Nonsuch we find many such ornaments [w] of old English gardening, as prevailed till the modern taste was introduced by Kent.

DURING the reign of queen Elizabeth there was an Italian who visited England, and published in 1586 a thick volume of Latin poems divided into several books. This poet styles himself *Melissus*.

IN this collection there is a poem on the royal garden, one stanza of which describes a labyrinth, and it should seem from the following lines that her majesty was curious in flowers, and perhaps a botanist.

Cultor herbarum, memor atque florum,
Atque radicum sub humo latentum, et
Stirpium *prisca*, et *nova* singularum
Nomina signet.

And again,

Non opis nostræ frutices ad unguem
Persequi cunctos, variasque plantas.

[u] Possibly rather a lime tree.

[w] Leland, who wrote when Henry the Eighth reigned, seems to have had a taste superior to such ornaments of a garden.

"There is (near Warwick) *Silence*, a *pratye* woode, antra in vivo saxo, "fontes liquidi et gemmei, prata florida, antra muscosa, &c." *Lel. Itin.* v. IV. p. 50. This passage is noticed by the late ingenious and learned Mr. Harris.

DURING

DURING the reign of this queen, Hentzner informs us that there was in the privy garden a jet-d'eau, which by turning of a cock wetted all the spectators who were standing near it.

LIBERNAU, who wrote his *Maison Rustique* about the same time, advises arbours of jessamine or roses, box, juniper, and cypress, to be introduced into gardens, and gives some wooden plates of forms for parterres, and labyrinths. The same taste prevailed in Spain and Italy [x].

JAMES the First built, or at least improved, the palace of Theobalds, to which he likewise added a garden [y], thus described by *Mandelslo*, a traveller who visited England in 1640.

"It is large and square, having all its walls covered with fillery, and a beautiful jet d'eau in the centre. The parterre hath many pleasant walks, many of which are planted on the sides with espaliers, and others arched over. Some of the trees are limes and elms, and at the end is a small mount called *the Mount of Venus*, which is placed in the midst of a labyrinth, and is upon the whole one of the most beautiful spots in the world [z]."

This same traveller describes also the garden at Greenwich (much improved by James the First), in which he mentions a statue pouring water from a cornu copiae, and a *grotto*.

ABOUT the same time *Mandelslo* visited Brussels, and informs us that in the midst of a lake adjoining to the palace, there is a square house built upon pillars which perhaps was one of the first summer houses in such a situation.

[x] Monconys, t. III. p. 34 and 17.

[y] Lord Burleigh first made these gardens which were very extensive being two miles in circuit. Peck's *Des. Cur.* vol. II.

[z] *Voyages de Mandelslo*, t. II. p. 598. Ben Jonson mentions figs, grapes, quinces, apricots, and peaches at Penshurst in Kent, and that during the same reign, Vincent Corbet had a famous nursery at Twickenham.

CHARLES the First is well known to have been in the earlier part of his reign an encourager of the elegant arts; but I have not happened to meet with any proofs of attention to the gardens of his palaces, if the appointing Parkinson to be his *herbarist* be excepted, which office it is believed was first created by this king.

IMPROVEMENTS of the same kind were little to be expected from the Commonwealth, or Cromwell; but Charles the Second being fond both of playing at mall, and walking in St. James's Park, planted some rows of limes, and dug the canal, both which still remain. He also covered the central walk with cockle shells, and instituted the office of cockle strewer. It was so well kept during this reign that Waller calls it "the *polished* Mall." He also mentions that Charles the Second (probably from this circumstance) was able to strike the ball more than half the length of the walk.

LORD Capel seems to have been the first person of consequence in England [a], who was at much expence in his gardens, and having brought over with him many new fruits from France [b], he planted them at Kew.

LORD Effex had the same taste, and sent his gardener Rose to study the then much celebrated beauties of Versailles. Upon Rose's return Charles the Second appointed him royal gardener [c], when he planted such famous *dwarfs* at Hamp-

[a] Lord W. Russell laid out the garden in Bloomsbury Square about the same time, and probably then planted the acacias which now grow before the office. They are become of such a size as to be perhaps deemed timber.

[b] Switzer, vol. I. *Ichnographia Rustica*, 3 vols. 8vo.

[c] He had before indeed sent for Le Nautre and Perault, but it is believed that the latter declined coming into England. Le Nautre however planted the parks of St. James and Greenwich.

ton Court, Carlton, and Marlborough Gardens [d], that London (who was Rose's apprentice) challenges all Europe to produce the like.

I SHOULD rather conceive that this king had the first hot and ice-house (which generally accompany each other) ever built in England, as at the installation dinner given at Windsor on the twenty-third of April 1667 there were cherries, strawberries, and ice creams.

EVELYN published his *Calendarium Hortense* in 1679, from which it appears that most of the flowers, shrubs, and fruits which we plant at present were then known [e], if we except what have been lately introduced from America [f]. The same writer gives particular directions about parterres and aviaries, which latter ornament was not therefore uncommon at this period, the example being probably taken from that in the Bird Cage Walk, where (it should seem from the name [g]) Charles the Second had placed this garden ornament. He had also a large collection of water fowl, which he generally fed himself.

[d] "All with a border of rich fruit trees crown'd."
Waller speaking of the mall.

[e] See Ashmole's History of the Order of the Garter. Monconys mentions, that in 1663 Spring Gardens (or Vauxhall) was much resorted to, having grass and sand walks, dividing squares of twenty or thirty yards, which were inclosed with hedges of gooseberries, whilst within there were raspberries, roses, beans and asparagus. T. ii. pag. 17.

[f] Compton bishop of London introduced in the episcopal garden at Fulham many foreign trees which still continue to grow there.

[g] I have been informed that in the old books belonging to the master of the horse, there is an allowance to the *avener*, for hemp seed, with which these birds were fed. As for the more common etymology of the name of this walk from *berceau* or a cradle, there is not the least appearance of the limes having been arched over when first planted.

I SHOULD not conclude what relates to gardening during this reign without mentioning that probably many of what were then called improvements, might have been imitated from those of Lewis the Fourteenth, as according to Rapin this king not only delighted in gardens, but often directed the workmen in person.

— per te curando incumbere fundo

Non dubitas, circum famuli stant ordine longo,

Centum qui pomis, centum qui floribus hortos

Conferere ingentes, et aquas deducere certant :

Artificumque vices varias, operumque laborem

Per medios instans operi partiris, ut agrum

Omnia sint paribus numeris, dimensa per omnem [b].

ONE of the master gardeners therefore having been reproved by his majesty for not having made the beds of a parterre exactly answer each other, did not instantly allow himself to have committed a mistake, but having measured the ground with supposed great care, justified himself by saying, that the king's eye was truer than his line.

I CONCLUDE that the short reign of James the Second produced no great alteration in the royal gardens ; but his successor introduced or gave a vogue to clipped yews, with magnificent gates, and rails of iron [i].

THOSE at Hampton Court which are parallel to the Thames extend six hundred yards in length, and are broken at regular intervals of fifty yards with twelve gates four yards wide and seven feet high. The design of these rails is elegant, and most

[b] De Hortis 1672.

[i] The most magnificent and extensive iron-work next to that at Hampton Court is perhaps the gates and rails at Leefwood near Mold in Flintshire. The gardens there are laid out by Switzer (author of the *Ichnographia Rustica*) in Bridgeman's first style.

capitally

capitally executed. The harp, thistle, garter, &c. are introduced as ornaments.

THE four urns placed in that part of the garden which lies before the principal front of the palace are perhaps the first ornaments of that kind which are to be found in England, though I believe they are not uncommon in Italian gardens of more early periods.

IN another part of the garden there is a most elegant alcove consisting entirely of, and arched over with, trellis. Though the carpenter however cannot be too much commended for the execution of his work, yet there is certainly a great absurdity in such a building, as it neither excludes wind, sun, or rain. Most of these garden ornaments indeed may more probably be attributed to queen Mary rather than the king, who spent many of his summers out of England. She resided much at Hampton Court, and is said to have appointed Pluckenet to be her herbarist, with a salary of two hundred pounds per annum. During this reign botanists were sent to explore the Indies for plants [k].

THE fruit garden at Hampton Court is not now often exceeded in size, as it consists of no less than eight acres, adjoining to which there is a wilderness of ten, and in which there is a labyrinth possibly as old as the time of Henry the Eighth.

[k] Preface to Ray's Synopsis 1696. This great botanist mentions a tulip tree growing at Chelsea in 1684, and a hot-house belonging to a Mr. Watts which had a tea shrub. Ray meditated a work to be entitled, "*Horti Angliæ*." See his letters. It may not be improper here to refer to Aylcough's Catalogue of the Sloane MSS. Article 4436 contains "Observations on the *Humble* and *Sensitive* plants," which were so early as 1661 in Mr. Chiffin's garden St. James's Park. The same accurate catalogue contains a list of the foreign plants cultivated at Hampton Court in 1692.

As

As this is perhaps the only such garden device now remaining, after the devastations of Messrs. Kent and Brown, I shall mention some particulars relative to it.

THE winding walks amount to half a mile, though the whole extent is not perhaps more than a quarter of an acre, and there is a stand adjacent in which the gardener places himself in order to extricate you by his direction, after the stranger acknowledges himself to be completely tired and puzzled [1].

BEFORE I made this arduous attempt, I resolved to fix upon a certain rule as my best chance to avoid being confounded, and I succeeded by always keeping as near as I could to the outermost hedge.

I MUST not however take too much credit to myself from my discernment, because Switzer, whom I shall have occasion afterwards to cite, condemns this labyrinth for having but four stops, whereas he had given a plan for one with twenty.

I do not recollect that queen Anne is supposed to have made any considerable alterations in the royal gardens, if the parterre before the great terrace at Windsor is excepted, the beds of which are now covered with turf, though traces of the figure still remain.

SWITZER indeed [m] mentions that she finished the old gardens at Kensington begun by king William, under the direction of Wise, who became the royal gardener on the death of Rose [n], to whom he had been an apprentice. His alteration

[1] "Mazes well framed a man's height may perhaps make your friend wander in gathering berries till he cannot recover himself without your help." Lawson's *New Orchard* 4to. 1626.

[m] *Ichnographia Rustica*, 3 vols. 8vo.

[n] In the time of Charles the Second there were two other famous gardeners, viz. Lucre and Field, gardeners to the earl of Bedford. Cock was also then gardener to lord Essex. Switzer.

of the gravel pit [o] in the old part of the gardens is compared by the *Spectator* to the sublime of epic poetry ; but such revolutions happen with regard to taste, that every holly and yew hedge are now removed from this celebrated spot.

WISE had a partner whose name was *London*, and who being nearly in as great request as the modern Brown, constantly made regular circuits during the summer to execute the commands of those, who might wish to employ him.

THESE two partners planted perhaps the first considerable nursery of this country, which was at Brompton, and by which they are said to have made a profit of two thousand pounds [p].

It is believed that George the First rather improved the gardens at Herenhausen than those of any of his English palaces.

IN the succeeding reign queen Caroline threw a string of ponds in Hyde Park into one, so as to form what is called the Serpentine River, from its being not exactly strait as all ponds and canals were before. The late lord Bathurst indeed told me, that he was the first person who ventured to deviate from strait lines, in a brook which he had widened at Ryskins near Colebrook. The lord Strafford of that time however [q], paying him a visit, and being carried out to see the effect of this new improvement asked him to own fairly, how little more it would have cost, to have made the course of the brook in a strait direction.

QUEEN Caroline likewise is well known to have planted and laid out the gardens both of Richmond and Kensington, upon a larger scale, and in better taste, than we have any instances before that period. She seems also to have been the first intro-

[o] The gravel of England, and particularly of the county of Middlesex is most deservedly admired, and yet perhaps this is the first pit of any extent which had been dug for walks. Charles the Second covered the mall with cockles.

[p] Switzer. London died in 1713. Ibid. His successors have been Bridgeman, Kent, and Brown.

[q] Plenipotentiary at the peace of Utrecht.

ducer of expensive buildings in gardens, if one at lord Barrington's [r] is excepted.

THIS not only by tradition, but internal proofs is most undoubtedly a plan of Inigo Jones, and in my memory was always called the Banquetting House, for which purpose it was originally destined, having cellars under it.

THIS great architect seems to have indulged his fancy upon this occasion, and to have imitated the Chinese style, with great propriety, as the situation much resembles those we see in Chinese drawings, where summer houses are represented.

IT is a coved cube of eighteen feet, built and paved with most excellent freestone, hath four doors and eight windows which are fixed in stone transoms, the panes being plate glass, and the wood between those panes being gilded [s].

THE building commands the water on three sides, having a paved walk round it exactly of the same breadth, with the projecting roof which overhangs it, the intention being perhaps that the angler should fish there, whilst it rains, and when it is supposed he is most likely to have good sport.

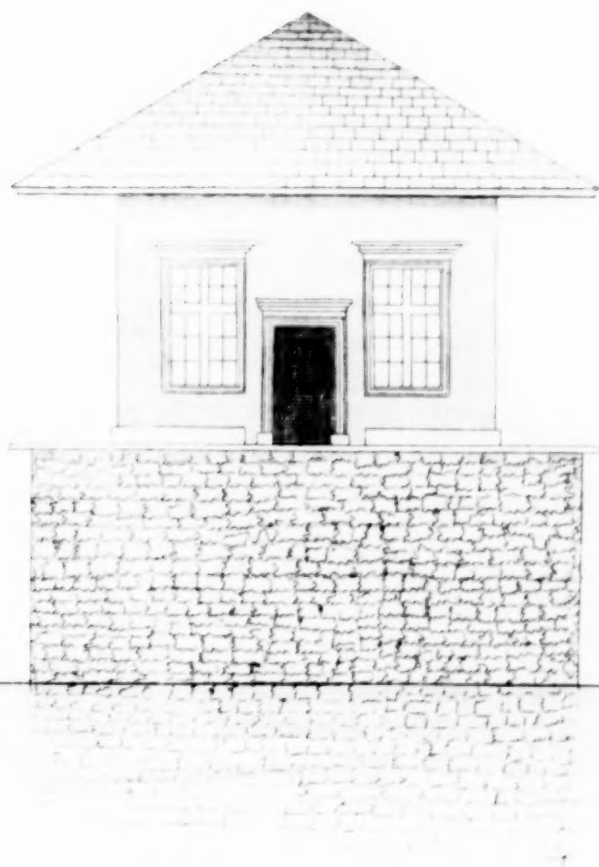
THIS Banquetting House is now in exactly the same plight as it was a hundred and fifty years ago if the gilding [t] of the window frames is excepted, and the removal of a parapet wall, which went round three parts of the walk that is under cover, probably to prevent the angler from falling into the water.

[r] At Beckett near Farrington in Berkshire. I think there is a garden building also at Wilton, which is supposed to have been planned by Jones. I send herewith a plan and elevation of the former. See pl. VIII.

[s] The old gardens near this building were also famous in their time having been executed at considerable expence.

[t] Gilding (at least in gold) lasts longer than is generally supposed, witness that at the prebendal house of the late Rev. Dr. Blair at Westminster, which, though finished under the direction of Inigo Jones, is still very bright.

0 10 20 30 40 50 feet



I HAVE been the more particular in the description of this Banqueting House, as I conceive it to be perhaps the most ancient garden building which we have in the kingdom.

WE are now arrived at a more particular æra for taste in gardening, which we chiefly owe to Kent, who most properly banished the more ancient ornaments, nor though I have the honour of being a member of this learned society, can I repine at the reformation.

WE have indeed allusions to gardens in the present style so early as the time of Tasso, but they existed only in the poet's imagination, and were never executed.

In lieto aspetto il bel giardin s'aperse,
Acque stagnante, mobili cristalli,
Fior vari, e varie piante, erbe diverse:
Apriche collinette, ombrose valli,
Selve, e spelonche in una vista offerse;
E quel ch'è'l bello e'l caro accrese all' opre,
L'arte che tutto fa, nulla si scuopre.
Stimi (si misto il culto e col negletto)
Sol naturali e gli ornamenti e i siti;
Di natura arte par che per diletto,
L'imitatrice sua scherzando imiti [u].

This description of the garden of the enchantress Alcina is fortunately translated by Spenser in his legion of Temperance, when Sir Guyon approaches the garden of *Acraffy* or *Intemperance*, though our poet hath transposed several of Tasso's lines,

“ *And that which all faire works doth most aggrace,*
“ *The art which all that wrought, appeared in no place* [x].
“ One would have thought so cunningly the rude,
“ And scorned parts were mingled with the fine,

[u] Gier. Lib. Canto xvi.

[x] Nature's own work it seemed.

Nature taught art.

Milton's Paradise Regained.

" That nature had for wantonness ensu'd
 " Art, and that art at nature did repine.
 " So thriving each the other to undermine,
 " Each did the other's worke more beautify,
 " So differing both in willes, agreed in fine,
 " So all agreed through sweete diversity,
 " This garden to adorne with all variety."

Spenser's Fairy Queen.

It was reserved for Kent to realize these beautiful descriptions, for which he was peculiarly adapted by being a painter [y]; as the true test of perfection in a modern garden is, that a landscape painter would choose it for a composition.

KENT hath been succeeded by Brown, who hath undoubtedly great merit in laying out pleasure grounds, but I conceive that in some of his plans I see rather traces of the gardener of Old Stowe, than of Pouffin or Claude Lorraine [z]. I could wish therefore that Gainsborough gave the design, and that Brown executed.

I am, &c.

DAINES BARRINGTON.

P. S. For several anecdotes and observations with regard to the progress of gardening, I must refer to an appendix of that learned and ingenious antiquary the Hon. Mr. Walpole, which I have lately perused.

[y] Kent indeed on his return from Italy painted history and portrait; but like Gainsborough he might also have studied landscapes.

[z] Whate'er Lorraine light-touch'd with softening hue.
 Or savage Rosa dash'd, or learned Pouffin drew.

Thomson's Castle of Indolence.

XIII. *A Dis-*

XIII. *A Disquisition on the Lows or Barrows in the Peak of Derbyshire, particularly that capital British Monument called Arbelows.* By the Rev. Mr. Pegge.

Read May 29, 1783.

ARBOUR-LOWS are an ancient monument, so well known in the country, that supposing a stranger desirous of visiting it (and indeed it is well worth visiting by the curious antiquary), and once arrived at Bakewell about five miles distant from it, he will not fail of meeting with a competent direction to the place.

WE have various derivations given us by authors of this word *Low*, which as a substantive, and signifying an eminence or rising ground, obtains a sense quite contrary to that of the adjective *low*, *humilis*, which I suppose may be the Dutch word *lang* [a]. This substantive enters the composition of a large number of local names, as an affix or termination, as here in *Arbour-lows*. I suppose there may be forty or fifty places with this termination in the small county of Derby (to say nothing of other counties [b]), and chiefly in the Peak. Some deduce the word from the British *llebau*, *locare*, *collocare* [c]; others

[a] Junius *in voce*.

[b] Warwickshire, Staffordshire, Devonshire, as below. Camden, col. 424.

[c] Hearne, in Spelman's Life of Alfred, p. 61, from Dugdale's Warwickshire, p. 4.

bring it ' from the Saxon word *leg*, *lig*, *lige*, or, according to
 ' the pronunciation of the *Danes*, *loge*, signifying *flame*. As
 ' therefore *Bustum* denotes the place where a man was burnt
 ' and buried, so did our ancestors, in imitation of [the *Romans*]
 ' call the place of burial *Lowe*, whether the bodies were burned
 ' or not [d]. This latter,' says Mr. Hearne, ' seems to be the
 ' more true etymology, because in Scotland, and the northern
 ' parts of England, the flame of any fire is called *low* to this
 ' day, &c.' But to me these etymologies appear far fetched
 and embarrassed, and therefore it would be far better to look
 directly to the Saxon *hlaep*, or *hlap*, *tumulus*, or hill [e]; Mr.
 Hearne himself acknowledging, that *low* signifies a *hill* amongst
 the hither Scotchmen [f], that is, in the old English. And it
 is observable, that John Brompton calls *cumulus* (or *tumulus* as
 I would amend it), a raised place of interment, a *low*; for speak-
 ing of Hubba the Dane, who was slain A. D. 878, he has these
 words, ' Dani vero cadaver Hubbæ inter occisos inuenientes,
 ' illud cum clamore maximo sepelierunt, *cumulum* apponentes,
 ' quem *Hubbelow* vocaverunt, unde *sic* usque in hodiernum diem
 ' locus ille appellatus est, et est in comitatu Devonie [g].' So
 that the word is Danish, it seems, as well as Saxon; and the
 Danes it is well known had great concerns all over the county
 of Derby. The whitlow, *paronychia*, so named from the *white*
top, which the swelling, when at maturity, commonly exhibits

[d] Hearne, *ibid*.

[e] Lye, *Dict. v. Hlap*. Dugd. Warw. p. 5. Gawin. Douglas, p. 394, lin. 12.

[f] Hearne, l. c.

[g] Brompton, col. 809. This, in an old MS. Chronicle of mine, p. 131,
 is called *Legge*, the same in pronunciation, as is plain from the name that there
 follows, viz. *Hubbesslowe*. Another MS. Chron. p. 37, has *Hubbellow*. So Le-
 land in Collect. l. p. 213, from Brompton, has ' *Hublow*, *tumulus Hubbæ*, in
 Devonie.'

answering to the French *blanch-mal*, shews plainly the general use of the word amongst us formerly, in the sense of a *tumour* [*b*].

I OBSERVE next, that, in the Peak, they appropriate the termination *low* to those *tumuli*, which, in other parts of England, are called *barrows*, and suppose them to be places of sepulture. This is the notion of the common people, and they are undoubtedly such; for human bones have been found in many of them. Upon which ground alone, one may justly raise a question, whether all the villages and hamlets that present us with this word in the composition of their names had not originally some *tumulus* or place of sepulture near them, though by cultivation, or other accidental causes, the *low* may now disappear. At many of the places so denominated, the barrows are actually still remaining, as here at Arbour-Lows, &c. [*i*], whence it is but reasonable to conclude, that lows of the same kind were once existing at all the places of the like termination.

THE general remarks which I have to make upon the lows are such as these,

FIRST, They commonly are placed upon high ground [*k*], and many of them upon the very brow or summit of hills, so as
to

[*b*] In Derbyshire they call this complaint a *wickflow*, very expressively. The last member is clearly a corruption of *low*, or *hlap*, and as to the former part of the word, *wick* in the dialect of that country is the same as *quick*, and denotes consequently the beating or throbbing which always attends those painful tumours.

[*i*] Highlow, Blakelow, Ellocklow, Gallowlow, Hakeflow, Mininglow, Pidallow, Roundlow, Snipperlow, Stanhoplow, Whitelow, &c.

[*k*] I know but one exception to this (others may recollect more), viz. that Earthen low was in the field on the left hand of the turnpike road leading from Mitham Bridge to Hope, at the N. W. corner of which the lane turns down to Brough.

to be visible from considerable distances, and from which you have reciprocally very extensive views and prospects. This is the situation of Arbour-Low, Tidflow Top [l], and those within the entrenchment upon Mam-Torr, to mention no more; and it is remarkable of the Arbour-Lows that the *Eagle-Stone* on *Baslow High Bar*, which is at least five miles distant, and undoubtedly a rock-idol, is seen from it [m]. So the old Chronicle cited by Mr. Hearne, ‘And when the *Danes* fond Hungar and Hubba deid, thei bare theym *to a mountayn* ther befyde, and made upon hym a *logge* and lete call it Hubbfylugh [n].’ Query, whether these elevated interments might not sometimes be intended to strike a terror into the breasts of the hero’s enemies, since Weever relates of Vortimer, the British prince, that after his last victory over the Saxons he caused his monument to be erected at the entrance into *Tanet*, and in the same place of that great overthrow. ‘In this monument, he commanded his body to be buried, to the further terror of the Saxons, that in beholding this his trophie, their spirits might be daunted at the remembrance of their great overthrow. As *Scipio Africanus* conceited the like, who commanded his sepulchre to be so set that it might overlook *Africa*;

Brough. The field is in the liberty of Aston, and the estate of Thomas Eyre of Haffop, Esq. It is thirty yards in circumference, and is evidently a barrow. The top has been much higher in the memory of man, but the ground being here in tillage, the plough has lowered the summit considerably.

[l] This is apparently a pleonasm, whence one may infer that the common people, though they lived among the *lows*, and even had a right notion of them, as stated above, did not perfectly understand the meaning of the word.

[m] The British word for eagle is *ergr*; wherefore *eagle* here is probably a corruption of some British word of like sound, perhaps *hyglod*, famous, renowned. It is said there are two rock basons on the top of it.

[n] Hearne, in *Spelm.* Life of Alfred, p. 4. See the passage from Brompton before cited, p. 131.

“supposing that his very tombe would be a terror to the Car-
 “thaginians [o].” Be this as it may, the lows,

2dly, are generally round. Indeed they are mostly so every where [p], though there are some few instances of an oblong form, as what is called *Julaberr's Grave* at Chilham in Kent [q], and another large barrow on Wye Downs, which, though upon a much larger scale, are not unlike our common graves [r]. Barrows, I presume, almost naturally would take, if they mounted to any considerable elevation, a circular figure; for supposing an human body of six feet laid upon the ground, and an agger of either earth or stones accumulated upon it to any height, the appearance at last will be nearly circular, and I may add, conical; by which, however, I do not mean to insinuate they may not often be flat at top, or concave like a basin, but only that the original construction was conical, and these other appearances accidental; flatness arising since, from time and weather, or perhaps in some cases from the plough; and concavity being caused by much the same fortuitous circumstances assisted by the known sinking and depression of a factitious mount of mold or earth; the same dishing may also happen, I conceive, even to a stone low.

3dly, They are of various sizes and dimensions. We have them from sixty yards in circumference at the base down to four or five, and the presumption is, that the larger the barrow the greater was the dignity of the person interred. This, however, may be pronounced with some assurance, that the more august was the solemnity of the interment, either the greater

[a] Weever's Fun. Mon. p. 519.

[p] Harris's Hist. of Kent, p. 137. Wormii, Mon. Dan. p. 33.

[q] Harris's Hist. of Kent, p. 76.

[r] See also Wormius, p. 37.

pains were taken, or the more hands employed, which leads me to observe, that how the most stupendous of them for magnitude were compiled is not difficult to conceive, when one reflects, that sometimes a whole army were engaged in the service [s], and that for many days together [t].

4thly, As to the substance of our lows, they are sometimes composed of small loose stones, rudely piled on heaps, without any order; others consist of the like stones, but are covered with earth or turf [u], which in other cases may have accrued through length of time. Lastly, Some are entirely of earth or mold [w].

5th. The greater stone-lows have sometimes smaller ones of the same kind scattered irregularly above them, as may be seen on Leam-Moor, Highlow-Moor, and Offerton-Moor [x].

6th. Though such a multitude of lows are remaining, and especially in the Peak [y], where they abound most, by reason that agriculture having taken but little place on the hills and moors; things continue there more in their ancient state, and have been less disturbed than in Scarfdale, or the other hundreds, where the lands have been more cultivated [z]; yet many have been destroyed by the neighbouring inhabitants; those which consisted of grit-stones having some been totally, and others in

[s] Wormii Mon. Dan. p. 39.

[t] Wormius, ibid.

[u] Wormius, p. 43.

[w] Such there were very anciently. Virgil, *Æn.* XI. 550. Tacitus, *Annal.* I. cap. 62. Dugd. Warw. p. 4.

[x] See Wormius, p. 41.

[y] There are a great number of small ones on Leam-Moor, besides eight large ones.

[z] See Dugd. Warw. p. 5. Plott, *Oxfordsh.* c. x. and *Staffordsh.* c. x.

part, carried away, to make walls [a]. The materials of one of *Robin Hood's Pricks*, as they are called, was used in making the turnpike road leading from Sheffield to Grindleford-Bridge. So again, where the body of the low has been of lime-stone, it has been partly carried off by the farmers or grafiars for making lime, as has been the case at Stanhope-Low, and Mining-Low. Some lows, moreover, have been disturbed through curiosity, or avarice; as when they have been rummaged and sought into from a hope of finding antiquities, or by others in expectation of meeting with hidden treasure. There are instances, lastly, where rabbits having burrowed in lows, a great disordering of the stones has ensued from those who have gone to hunt them, and dig them out. Sir Henry Spelman observes, that it is from the lows, or barrows, the 'cuniculorum oculamenta et habitacula *Berries* dicimus [b].'

7th. To enquire next into the use, or meaning of the lows. It cannot be doubted, after the various discoveries that have been made by digging and searching into them, that they are all places of sepulture, bones, ashes, urns, &c. having been actually found in many of them [c]; besides, kist-vaens, and stone coffins, have been discovered in them [d]. It may be necessary, however, here to insert the following precaution. There have been lead mines worked in the Peak from remote antiquity; so that all the tumuli there found may not be lows, or places of interment, but some of them only heaps of rubbish ejected from

[a] A gentleman assured me, he himself had taken one entirely away, for that purpose, from Leam-Moor.

[b] Sir H. Spelman's Gloss. v. Bergium.

[c] Four urns were found in *Robin Hood's Prick* abovementioned, one in a low on Leam-Moor. See Camden, col. 763. 425. note g below.

[d] As in Aldwark-Moor. See Camden, col. 425.

the mine. A careful observer, nevertheless, will easily distinguish a low from a *grove-billock*, as they call it; as the component substance of a low is always very different, and there is rarely any mine near hand. The caution, however, may be useful to strangers, who visit the country for the sake of contemplating the lows. The stone lows cannot possibly be mistaken.

8th. But now as these tumuli, or modes of interment, were common to all countries [e], and Britons, Romans, Saxons and Danes, have all, in their order, frequented the Peak of Derbyshire, and have there been settled, the principal difficulty is to determine to which of those nations our numerous peakish lows belong. For my part, I incline to believe, they may have appertained not to any one particular, but to all those several people.

FIRST, some are British, for kist-vaens have been found in many of them [f]; and besides, these have no regard to roads, as Roman *tumuli* would have, but are dispersed on moors, in various parts of the country, and mostly placed on eminences. In some of them again, such valuables have been found as are known to have been peculiar to the Britons; rings, beads, &c. [g]. Where therefore such circumstances as these are attendant, and the low is withal very large, and on some eminence, one may rationally conclude it to be British.

2. As lows, or barrows, were used by the Romans, if any appear near their roads (as on the Bath-way, from Brough to Buxton), and Roman coins, urns, or any implements acknowledged

[e] Dr. Borlase's Antiq. of Cornwall, p. 211.

[f] See above, art. 7.

[g] In a stone low on Stanton Moor, which has been much rifled, not only bones were found, but a large bead of blue glass with orifices not larger than the tip of a tobacco-pipe. Some rings and beads were found in a low on Leam-Moor by Mr. Jonathan Oxley.

to belong to that people, are discovered in the body of the low, such low may reasonable be presumed to be of Roman erection.

3. THE Saxons, on their coming into these parts about A. D. 584, may with a great degree of probability be supposed to bring this mode of interment along with them from their own country; however, upon their establishment here, they would naturally learn and adopt it from the inhabitants of Mercia, whether Britons or Romans. And therefore there is valid reason to imagine, that our lows may some of them be the handy works of this nation, before its conversion to the Christian faith.

LASTLY, many of the lows are probably of Danish original. This people flourished long in these parts, and Mr. Hearne says, 'It was the common way of burial with the *Danes* to raise *tumuli* upon the bodies [b].' Brompton above will testify that this was done for Hubba, insomuch that many of our lows are probably Danish, and those perhaps more especially, which have a circle of stones surrounding their base; this being a particular mode in Denmark [i].

IT would certainly be a very desirable thing, if one could be able, upon first view, to appropriate a low to its right nation; but this, it seems, as appears from the above short state of these matters, is not to be done, and therefore there can be no certainty, without prying into and examining the bowels and contents of them, and even that is hardly sufficient in all cases.

HAVING thus dispatched what I had to say on our lows in general, I proceed now more particularly to speak of *Arbour-Lows*, as being by far the most magnificent and capital Druidi-

[b] Hearne, in Sir John Spelman's *Life of Alfred*, p. 61. See also *Wormii Mon. Dan.* p. 33, alibi.

[i] *Wormii Mon. Dan.* p. 35.

cal remain of any we have in Derbyshire, not to say in all this part of England. It may be considered as consisting of two distinct articles, the lows and the temple as I shall call it at present. I shall take the lows first, as they denominate the whole of the group.

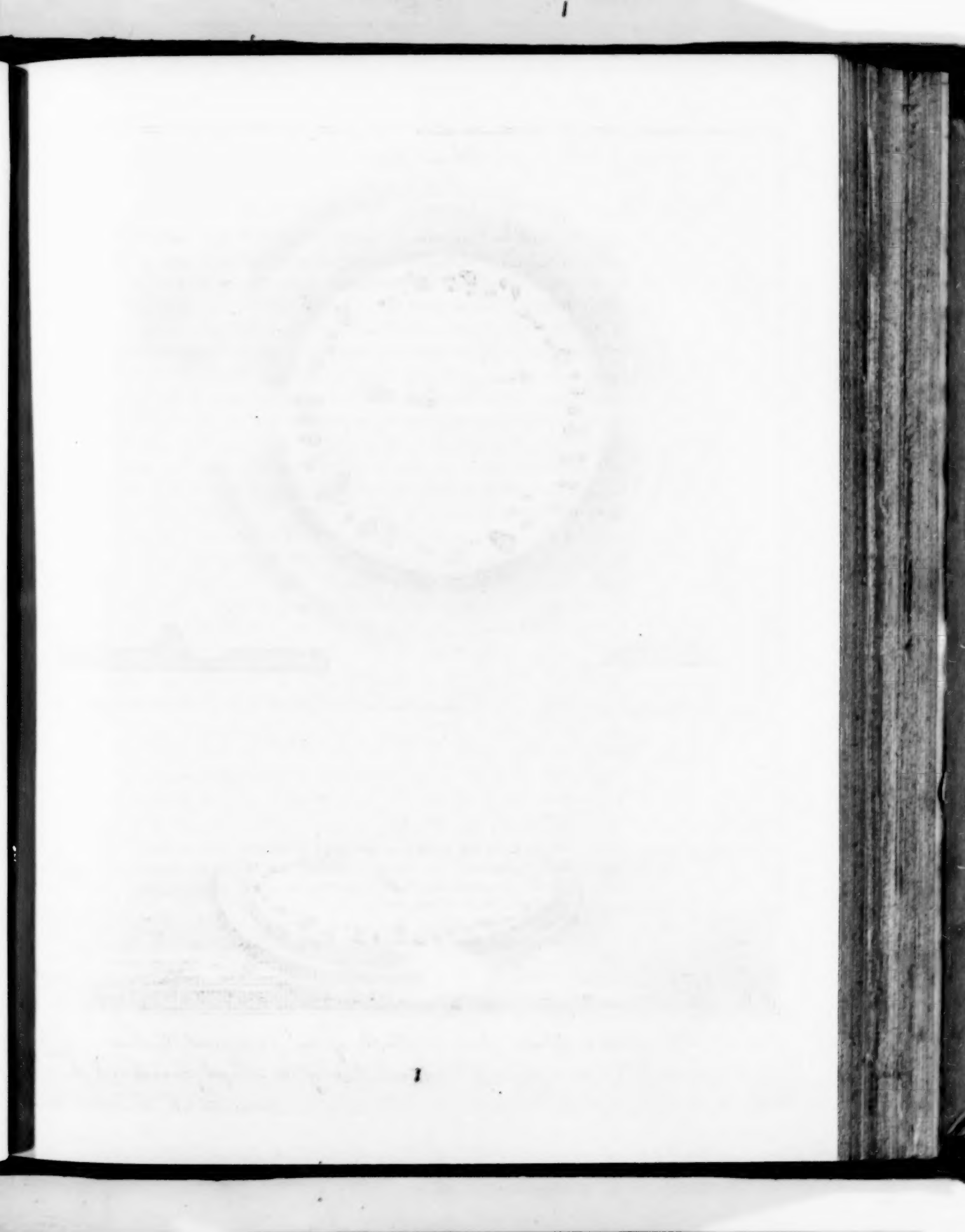
THE lows, which are two, and therefore are properly expressed plurally in the word *Arbelows*, are both of them of large dimensions. They stand on the brow of a hill, so as to be conspicuous afar off, both from the north and south, and therefore may be imagined to belong to persons of great account: and as *arar* in British means a hero, it seems probable, that this constitutes the first part of this compound name [*k*]; and then the sense of the whole will be, *the barrows of the heroes*, or great captains [*l*], answering to *Knighslow* in Sir William Dugdale [*m*]; and in fact, many of the lows had peculiar names, as is evident from the names of so many villages, which no doubt were at first borrowed and taken from their respective *lows*. Dr. Plott speaks of *Arbour-low-close* near *Okeover*, co. Stafford, where there is a low [*n*]; and perhaps this British or Celtic word may be the original of the Greek *Ἡρώς*, and Latin *Heros*. Some possibly may fancy that *Arvir* may be the same person as *Arviragus*

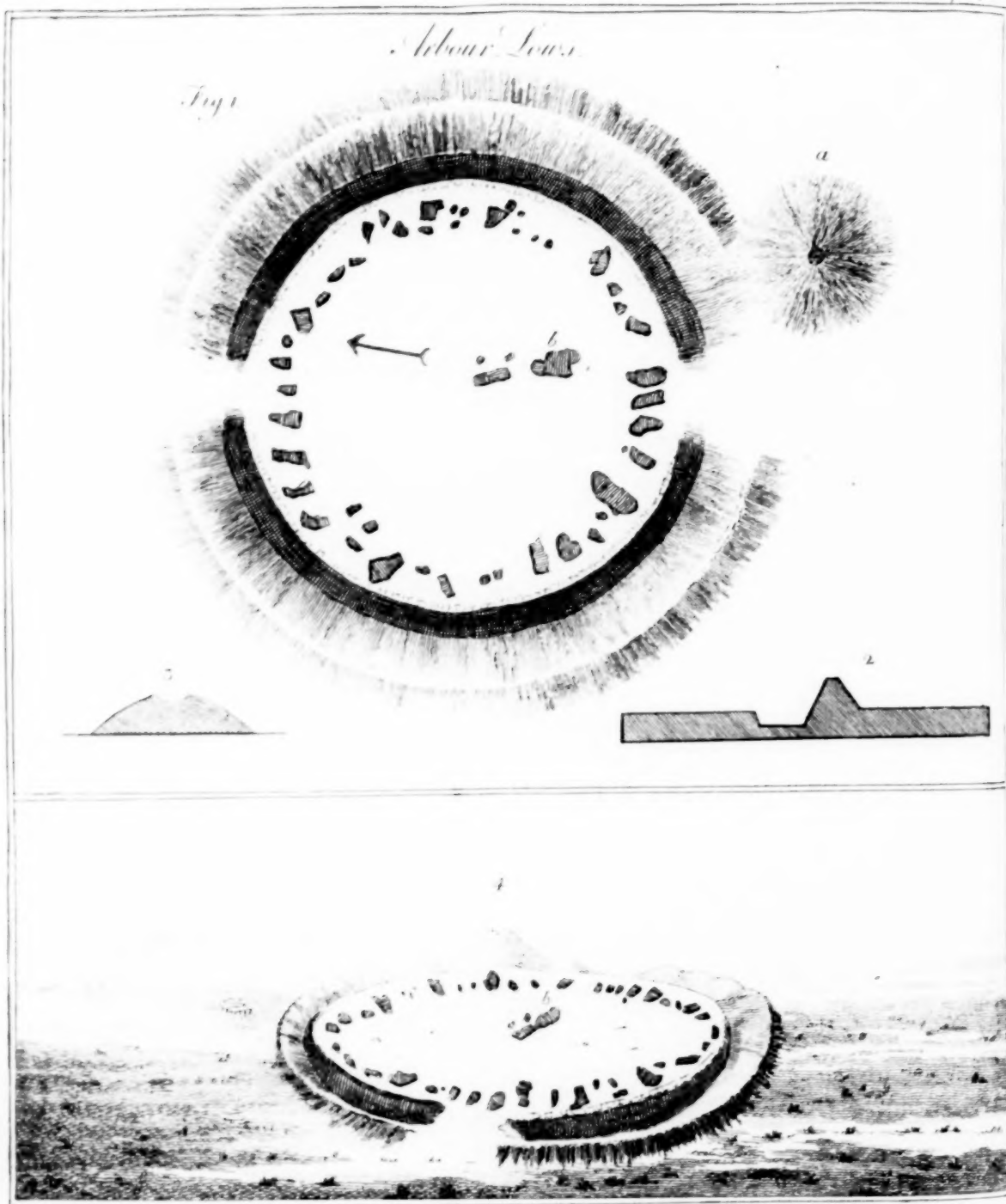
[*k*] *Arar* would be easily converted, or corrupted, to *arbour*; the insertion of *b*, *euphonia gratia*, does it at once.

[*l*] It may be objected to this etymon, that by this means it is made an hybridous word, part British and part Saxon; but this is of little weight, as such kinds of compounds are common. *Durofiponte*, the Roman name of Godmanchester, is interpreted by Mr. Camden, *a Bridge over Ouse*. *Britannia*, col. 502. Besides, *Arbour-Lows* was not, as we have reason to think the original name, but was imposed afterwards by the Saxons or Danes; it being natural for either of these people, if they conceived *Arar* to be a proper name, as probably they did, to join it with an appellation of their own.

[*m*] Dugdale, *Warw*, p. 5.

[*n*] Dr. Plott, *Nat. Hist. of Staffordshire*, p. 404.





1. Plan of the Arbour Lour. 2. Profile of the Ditch and Vallum.
 a. Section of the Parmentus a. Perspective View of the Temple from the S.W.

mentioned by Juvenal, Sat. IV. v. 127, as a Briton, but Mr. Baxter will not allow *that* to be a proper name [o]. Others may imagine, that *Arbila*, a British prince occurring in the old Scholiast on Juvenal, may be one of the persons here interred; but it is the height of rashness and extravagance to pretend to name a particular party: this therefore must necessarily be left in doubt.

THE first low is on your right hand, if you are travelling southward. It is a large mount of earth, nearly round, of about eighteen feet diameter at the top, where there is a great hollow in the middle, in form of a basin, as is common [p]. It is twenty-two yards diameter at the base. The original height to the top five yards two feet height on June 17, 1782, before it was opened three yards two feet. On the south side there is a low rampire of earth with several breaks in it, running across the field (at the distance of about seventy yards from the low) from the wall on the west, and under the wall on the east. These walls are plainly of modern erection; and whereas on the west side of that western wall no traces of the rampire are to be found, nor any place where it turned, and being but an insignificant thing, it probably is of a late date too. However, it passes quite to the foot of that great rampire which environs the temple, N^o 1. pl. IX.

THE other low stands on the right hand of the southern entrance into the area of the temple [q]. It stands *upon* the grand rampire, which is a very extraordinary position, and is not above three or four yards removed from the said entrance. This again is a considerable pile of earth, nearly as big as the former, and with the like hollow, or basin, in the area of its top, only that the water which was lodged in it, has, from time to time, run over the interior edge next the fosse, and worn it away. It is

[o] Essay on the Coins of Cunobelin, p. 57, seq.

[p] See above, p. 5.

[q] See the plate.

natural to imagine, that this low, so singularly situated *on* the rampire of the temple, must have been of a later construction than the temple itself.

HAVING done with the lows, I come to the temple. First, this is furrounded with a great circular rampire, measuring by its inward slope, seven yards high, and by the outward five. The fosse, which is *within*, and not on the outside of the rampire, is five yards over in the bottom.

2. THE inclosed area is a circular flat of fifty-eight yards diameter, and has been encompassed by thirty-two very large stones, or more, of lime-stone, or grey-marble, placed circularly. The stones formerly stood on end, two and two together, which is very particular, and different, I think, from any other stone circle now known; however, they all lie flat now, and are some of them so much broken by their fall, that it requires some attention in observing and numbering them; for the fragments are not only some bigger than others, as would necessarily happen, but sometimes lie at a small distance from the principal or larger pieces, to which they respectively belonged. However that they stood in pairs at first, is very obvious, and it is probable they were brought, as there is no quarry nearer, from *Fairdale* or *Ricklow Dale* which is very near; for they are apparently the same sort of stone, but blanced by the weather.

3. THE two entrances into the temple, nine yards each, are nearly south and north, but inclining to the south west and north east, and, as was observed, the slight rampire from the other low comes up to the southern entrance. The entrances are level, being banks of earth across the fosse (the earth in these places having never been dug away), and they both of them had, on each hand, one of the stone pillars abovementioned, between which you entered into the grand area. I call them pil-

lars *now*, though they are flat stones, because, as has been already noted, they stood on end, and were so lofty.

4. IN the area lies one very large stone four yards one foot long, two yards two foot wide, perhaps not less than three or four ton weight. There is another to the north of it, and a third on the east side, which appears to have been much broken. If ever there was a fourth on the west side it is now gone.

THE questions then arise, to what nation, British, Roman, Saxon or Danish, did this magnificent structure belong? and what was it designed for, a temple, a place of inauguration, a forum, or a sepulchre? these questions I shall endeavour to resolve.

1. I HAVE met with those who have esteemed it a Roman work; but do we hear of any thing of the kind in Italy? and if there were rampires only, without the pillars or stones, I should not account it a Roman fortification, because it is circular [r], and the fosse is on the inside of the vallum. However, the stones placed in a circular manner in the area, not to mention those in the middle, form an invincible objection to any pretensions the Romans can possibly make to this monument, as likewise does the low on the south east corner of the rampire, which is indeed very singular, and the like to which is never found on any Roman vallum.

2. THE Saxons appear to have no better claim than the Romans. We know not that this people had any great skill in mechanics, so as to be able to raise stones of such vast weight as these. They were extremely rude and ignorant [s] when they came into Mercia under *Crida* A. 584, and had enough to do, no doubt, for the first sixty years, to maintain their ground, and

[r] The ground here would have admitted of any figure; and the Romans, it is well known, made their camps either square or oblong, where they could.

[s] Assemblage of Metrop. Coins of Canterb. p. 40.

form a settlement in the country; and A. 644 the Mercians were converted to Christianity, and then there would of course be an end of all undertakings of this sort. These Saxons, moreover, so extremely illiterate, would necessarily derive all their knowledge and skill in the arts from the Romans left in the island, or the Romanized Britons, who not only were Christians, but probably had no knowledge or experience this way, any more than themselves. Indeed one cannot help thinking, that a monument of such a grand and stately appearance, and so conspicuous, as this must have been when in its original perfection, and the component stones all standing upright, would certainly have been noticed in the Saxon Chronicle, or some other of our writers, had it been erected either by the Saxons or Danes. Hubbalow, you observe, is mentioned, and though it must be allowed our accounts of their times are not so ample and particular as one would wish, yet they are far more copious than any we have (if you except the fabulous History of Jeffrey of Monmouth), and his followers of the old British affairs.

THE Danes were much in the same predicament with the Saxons. At first, they were meer rovers, and even at that time, Christianity was the religion professed in the country, to which they were soon converted. They never were so powerful, or so far settled, as to accomplish such a noble work as *Arbour-Lows*, till their conversion; and after that, they never would think of attempting it.

THE Britons then are the only people, to whom with any colour of reason one can think of ascribing this august monument; and indeed it has the air and aspect of very remote antiquity. They had arts and methods of elevating stones even of superior weight and dimensions to those [1], and had also accomplished works; as we have reason to think, of far greater

[1] Dr. Borlase, p. 157.

exertion. But though we adjudge the main body of this monument to the Britons, yet the lows, which we have made a distinct branch, do not so *certainly* belong to them. They appear posterior in time to the temple, as stated above, but nevertheless they may be theirs; on the other hand, they may be Roman or Saxon or Danish, insomuch that at present we dare not presume to decide upon a point, which probably will be more satisfactorily determined by the contents of the lows, if ever hereafter they may happen to be opened.

THE first question being thus disposed of, and the monument supposed to be British, I go on, 2dly, to enquire what use and purpose it might be intended to serve. It has been hinted above, more than once, that the stones once stood upright; but as I propose to build something material upon this hypothesis, it may be proper to dilate a little on that subject here. Now William Normanshaw, about sixty years old, testified that some of the stones were standing in his memory. 2dly, It is contrary to all our ideas concerning such very ancient matters, that stones of such large dimensions should ever be laid flat, and especially in pairs, like so many grave-stones. 3dly, How came they to be broken, upon that supposition, and in such manner? the pieces lying dispersed at some distance from one another, as may be seen in the drawing; this could be owing to nothing else but their falling, and breaking in the fall, as, being large flat stones, they naturally would do. How they came so generally to fall, I shall not pretend to determine; something may be ascribed to time, for they are doubtless very ancient; or an earthquake might do it, or there might be an original defect in their erection, by not planting the stones deep enough in the ground, and then a hurricane, or a boisterous wind, might prostrate many of them in such an exposed and elevated situation; or lastly, the zeal of the first Christians inhabiting

these parts might cause them to be thrown down, as remains and monuments of Pagan superstition might level them, without carrying them away, a matter not easily to be effected. What shall we say again to the large stone lying flat on the middle of the area? It could not be any thing in the nature of a *kongstolen* [u] in that position: how then will you account for it?

UPON this ground then, that the stones were fixed upright at first, I conceive this monument never could be a place of inauguration, or a forum; in the former case, how could the new elected king mount the top of the large stone in the middle to make his speech? It would be above four yards high, and moreover, of a very incommodious and unnatural form for his majesty to stand upon. The same may be said of the surrounding stones, which would be equally unfit and improper to receive the electors. Besides, what occasion for a rampire and fosse in this case? were not the bulk of the people to be ready at hand, both to hear and see? in regard to a court or forum [w], where public business was done, causes determined, laws promulged, or proclamations made, the same objections still recur; and indeed here, and in this case, the thirty-two surrounding stones seem to be superfluous. I conclude, therefore, that this monument was neither designed for a place of inauguration, nor a forum.

It remains then that the monument in question must either be a sepulchre or a temple. As to the first, the Britons, you observe, did not bury in this manner. They had their lows, as

[u] For an account of the *kongstolen*, see Worm. Mon. Dan. I. cap. 12. Dr. Plott, Nat. Hist. of Oxf. p. 330 seq.

[w] For the *fora*, or *tings*, see Worm. Mon. Dan. I. cap. 10. Dr. Plott, loc. cit.

here

here (if these lows be British) and apparently chose to place them without the area of the fabric. But the lows, you will say, may not be British, but Roman, or Saxon, or Danish; I grant they may, for any thing that yet appears to the contrary. But then, does not this shew, that these people respectively buried their dead in lows? and at the same time regarded our structure as a place too sacred for erecting funeral tumuli within it? but it may be asked here, did not the Britons inter within stone circles? and might not your monument be one of them? I answer, they certainly did, and we have many such circles now remaining in the Peak, some at the base or foot of lows, as in Wormius; and some without lows; but still the cirques have no rampire, nor fosse, as here at Arbourlows; and the lows, again, are *within* the circle, where there are any, and not without. In short, one cannot suppose, at any rate, that this could ever be intended merely for a place of sepulture.

THE probability then is, that our monument must have been a temple, a holy inclosure not to be profaned or defiled on this account, and for this purpose of keeping it sacred, the rampire and the fosse were exceedingly proper, and, in truth, one can hardly account for them upon any other supposition [x]. The lows, for the same reason, would doubtless be excluded from the holy place; and I have a strong suspicion, that the three or four stones in the middle of the area were once a *cromlech*, employed for sacrifices, though now thrown down; and this may seem a probable way of accounting for them: and then, as to the thirty-two surrounding stones, two and two together, these

[x] Mr. Cordiner indeed thinks such a fence would be improper about a forum (Antiq. and Scenery in N. Scotland, p. 84); and therefore, you may say, about a temple. But it should be considered, that as this holy place was not separated or secured by a wall, a rampire would be a natural enclosure, both to prevent profanation by cattle, and vulgar people.

I apprehend were erected partly for ornament, and partly to add dignity to the place. However, to dissemble nothing, the sepulchre of Harald Hyltedand in *Wormius* [y], has not only a cirque of stones environing it, but also an altar, or cromlech, in the midst of its area, and consequently very remarkably resembles our Arbourlows; I answer the cromlech is indeed an altar, and therefore, though perhaps it may accidentally, and in particular cases, accompany a sepulchre [z], ‘ut ibidem,’ as *Wormius* says, ‘in memoriam defuncti quotannis sacra peragantur,’ yet it may seem better appropriated to a temple; wherefore, notwithstanding this tomb of Harald, which exhibits neither rampire nor fosse, I chuse to abide by the opinion, that Arbourlows is a temple, and not a sepulchre.

BUT here it may be asked, does not your etymology offered above, and importing, *the barrows of the heroes*, seem necessarily to imply a place of sepulture? I answer again, the etymology, whether true or false, certainly applies to the *lows*; but then a distinction has been all along made, between the lows and the monument under consideration; and this distinction is sufficient I apprehend, to invalidate the objection.

UPON the whole, the drawing, and the verbal description, are sufficiently accurate; and as to the reasoning or argumentative part, it is such as has occurred to the author of this memoir, but is submitted nevertheless to the candour and free discussion of the Society, who will be pleased to judge for themselves.

[y] *Worm. Mon. Dan.* p. 22.

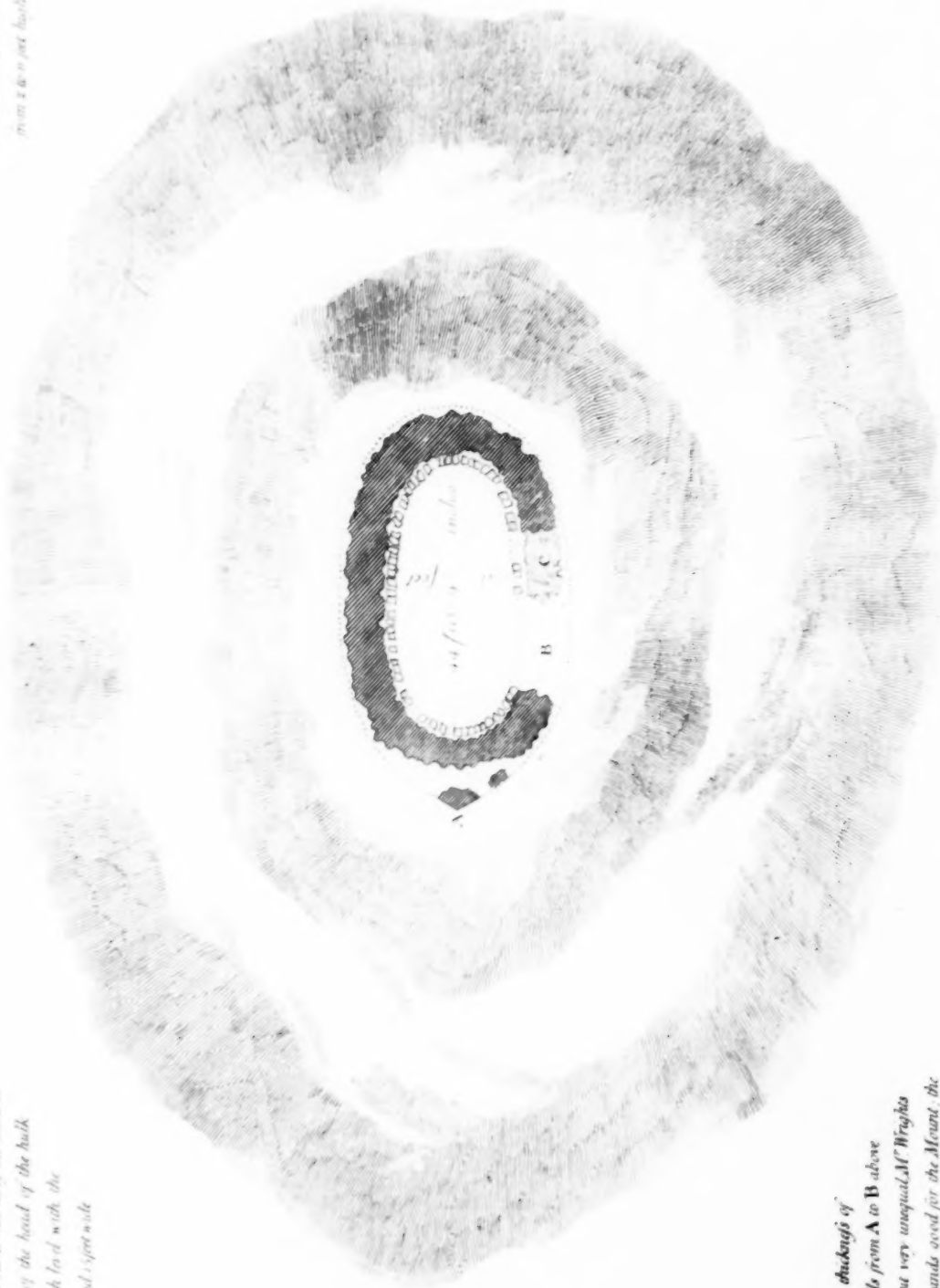
[z] See *Wormius*.



View of the one. Higher Work at Dundalk.

C. Branch of a jet canal
from 2 to 3 feet high

A Large stone marking the ancient
form of the head of the bulk
B Branch lead with the
terminal 15 feet wide



Present thickness of
the walls from A to B above
6 feet but very unequal. Mr Wright
sells stands good for the Mount, the
dotted lines are his plan

Plan of the one Night's Work as it is at present.

Fig. 3.

Back view

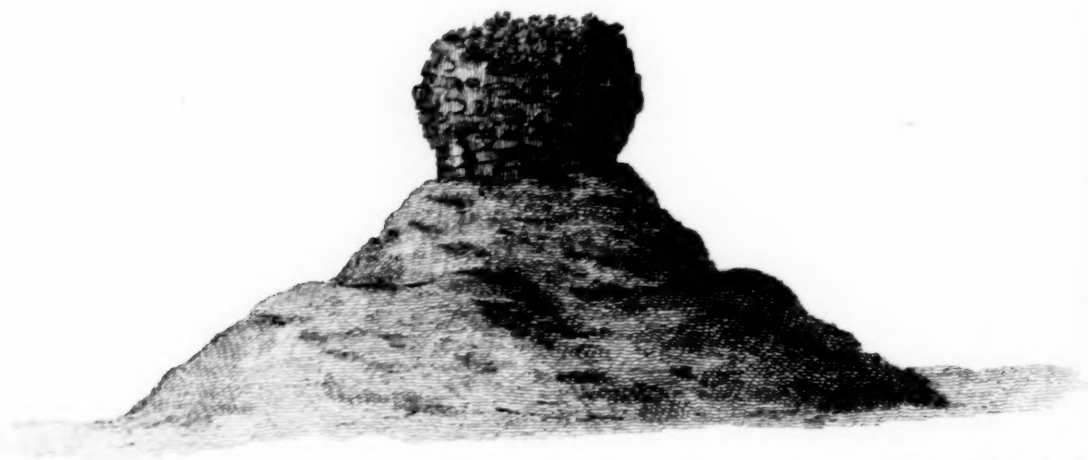
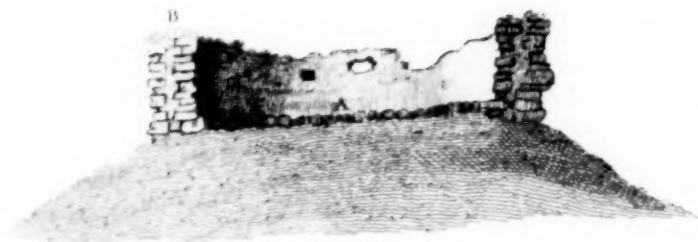


Fig. 4.

Section.



A. A projection of Stones like a bench all round 6^{to} high and
advancing as much from the wall.

B. The wall now 6 high from the top to its projection whole
height within 12 to 16

The Ship-Temple at Dundalk.

XIV. *Observations on the Dundalk Ship Temple.*

By Thomas Pownall, Esq. *In a Letter to the Rev. Mr. Norris, Secretary.*

Read July 10, 1783.

SIR,

ENCLOSED I send to you for the inspection and amusement of the Society four drawings, viz. two views, a plan, and a section of the ruins of a very uncommon building near Dundalk in Ireland. I had seen in Mr. Wright's *Louthiana* a neat plan of this building, he calls a *ship-temple*: he however says, that the name it goes by in the country, is

Fags na ain eighe, or

The one night's work.

But his account of this object of antiquity though so singularly curious, is transient and general without entering into any detail of particulars. My curiosity however was raised, and I wished to have such a plan, section, and drawings of the elevation as should describe its specific parts. Colonel Vallancey was so obliging as, at my desire, to engage Mr. Beranger to make, upon the spot, the drawings which I wished for; and these are they which I have now the pleasure to communicate to the Society. From these, together with the verbal description which Mr. Beranger's letter (herein also [a] enclosed) gives, I have been

[a] At the request of Col. Vallancey, I have taken a journey to Dundalk, and made the enclosed drawings of an ancient structure, mentioned in *Louthiana* to be in the form of an hulk of an antique vessel, and known in that country by the name

been enabled to form some conjectures (such as they are) of the nature and design of this building, according to my present conception of the matter.

THESE conjectures I submitted to the Society of Antiquaries at Dublin, who have been pleased to print them in the tenth num-

name of the one night's work. I hope that you will find them to your satisfaction.

The method I have taken was this. I took copies of Mr. Wright's plan and view, and compared them on the spot. I make no doubt but they were true: however since forty years great alterations have happened, by time and hands of men, who are daily demolishing it, for the sake of the stones, with which they build dry walls, to make the division of their fields. The mount on which the building stands is also in ruins, the walks and slopes being almost confounded together, and in a little time will become a confused heap or single hill.

This building is situated about two miles west of Dundalk in the barony of the same name. It is composed of a brownish grit. The two or three first courses above ground are mostly of large stones, from two to three feet broad, and from twelve to sixteen inches high; the rest above it of stones of all sizes from eight to twelve inches, having now and then a large stone intermixed. The mortar seems not over tenacious, as I was told the stones are easily taken away. The mount had originally two walks round it, with as many slopes, which are almost destroyed. The country about it is very uneven, being composed of hillocks and hollows which prevent the sight to extend to any length.

The drawings consist in a view No. 1, the plan No. 2, the sketch of the back view No. 3, and the section No. 4.

If you require any other information, I beg you will be so kind as to let me know it, and I shall do the best in my power to answer them.

I am with respect &c.

Name in Irish

Faj na Dion oidche

pronounced by an Irishman, Fas nahin aoidheche;

by those that do not understand

Irish but catch the sound,

In English The one nights work.

I got the above of an Irish teacher.

} Faas nahane eughe

ber

ber of the *Colleſtanea de rebus Hibernicis*. I therein ſtated, that
“ the commerce, occupancy, and various inhabitancy, which the
“ ancient ſtate of Ireland has been under and experienced, leaves
“ open to conjecture *two lines of inveſtigation*, which it may pur-
“ ſue, in examination of the many remnants of antiquity ſo fre-
“ quently diſcovered in Ireland.

“ THE one leads to thoſe circumſtances, and that ſtate of
“ things, which may be ſuppoſed to have taken place while the
“ Phœnicians and Carthaginians had their intercourſe there;
“ the other to thoſe which accompanied the occupancy and
“ inhabitancy of *Gudbs Guths*, or (as theſe adventurers called
“ themſelves) *Vickanders*, the ſea rovers and pirates who *in the*
“ *earlieſt times* came to Ireland from the Baltic and the coaſts
“ of the north ſea.

“ IF the antiquary is inclined to ſuppoſe this curious building
“ to have been one of the *Arkite temples*, I would wiſh to per-
“ ſuade Mr. Bryant to give the Society his opinion upon it. He
“ is deep in the *Arkite myſteries* as he is in every point of an-
“ cient literature: and I will try to tempt him by ſending the
“ drawings and deſcription to him.

“ IN the mean time I purſue *the other line* as more conſonant
“ to my own opinion.

“ I HAVE proved in another place [b] and on another occa-
“ ſion that theſe Viſts, or Fiſts, as the Welch called them;
“ theſe Picti, Pictones, Vic-ingi, and Viſtones as the Romans
“ in different ſituations pronounced the name; theſe Vick-
“ anders and Vick-ingers, as the word is written on their own
“ Runic monuments, made *very early* incuſſions into, and even
“ invaſions of Ireland, &c.

“ THESE people came from a country, and were of a race,
“ who paid divine honors to the form of a ſhip as the Symbol,

[b] Treatiſe on the Study of Antiquities, part 2, not yet publiſhed.

“ Idol,

“Idol, or rather as the Temple of the Divinities whom they
 “worshipped. They supposed the gods, whom they called *Afer*,
 “to have a ship which the *Nani* made for them, and that these
 “gods, when they passed through the metaphysical regions of
 “the world, sailed in this ship. To this ship they gave the name
 “*Skidbladner* [c]. *Nani fecerunt Skidbladnerum, et dederunt Fre-*
 “*jero. Hæc adeo magna est ut par sit omnibus Afis et quidem ar-*
 “*matibus ferendis, velisque explicatis statim ventum nausciatur secun-*
 “*dum, quocunque sit abitura. Cum vero non navigandum sit adeo*
 “*multis constat partibus ut complicata in perâ includi possit.*”
 Now, if their religious faith taught them to believe that the
 gods themselves chose this kind of vehicle, and that mini-
 string gods or priests of the intellectual world prepared such for
 them, *what form of temple* could be more conform to these opi-
 nions, or become a more proper symbol of the residence of these
 gods, *than that of a ship?*

TACITUS having learnt, that some of these northern people
 used shrines of this form, as symbols of their gods, throws out
 a conjecture, that *Isis* may be the divinity worshiped under this
 type, and many learned men have endeavoured to trace out
 the way by which this superstition might pass from the *Ægypti-*
tians to the *Suevi* [d]; *unde causa et origo peregrino sacro parum*
comperi, nisi lignum ipsum, in modum LIBURNÆ figuratum, docet
advectam religionem.

BUT as I am on one hand taught by Cæsar [e] that these
 people knew not, no not even by hear-say, any other divinities
 than their own (to which however, according to the Roman
 custom, he is pleased to give the Roman names, *sol, vulcanus,*

[c] Edda. Edit. Goranson.

[d] Tacitus.

[e] Bell. Gall. lib. VI. § 21.

luna). And as on the other hand I read in the Edda as above, that these people had religious fables of their own, couched under this very idea of the gods sailing in a *metaphysical mysterious ship*; I cannot subscribe to the far-fetched mysteries (*advectæ religionis*) which these learned men had been at the trouble to trace out. My conjecture therefore which I submitted to the antiquaries at Dublin, was *that this ship temple is the Symbol of the sacred Skidbladner, built by the Nani, and by a mode of analysing the name, corrupted as it seems to be, by which this building is called at this day, I have endeavoured to make out, that this very name confirms this conjecture, for that it signifies a building founded in the Nanic institutions.*

THIS opinion my friend Colonel Vallancey is not disposed to accede to, being dissatisfied, I fear, that I have ascribed the honour of this temple to northern adventurers and colonists, in preference to Phœnicians, Carthaginians, and Magogian Scythys; to *Nanic* rather than to *Druidic* institutions, for which he has a more than ordinary reverence, so that he has been pleased to accompany the publication of my letter with some remarks, in which he endeavours to recover and restore this building to his friends the Druids, and seems willing to suppose it to have been *an inn or caravanfera of the Naoids* (whom he supposes to be) *an order of Monks belonging to the Druids.* To make all clear for the erection of *this Druidical caravanfera of hospitable Monks,* my *Pictish Nanic temple* (equally imaginary) must be battered down. My friend the Colonel therefore fixes an IF, like a petard, on the portal of my argument, and in an hypothetical syllogism says, "*if the Picts (mixed with these nations) preserved the tenets of their ancient religion at the time of the invasion of Ireland by the Danes, Mr. Pownall's conjecture may be right.*" Now the Colonel's knowledge of these an-

cient adventurers going, at the time of writing these remarks, no higher than to those accounts of them in the third or fourth century of the Christian æra, when the invasions of the northern people *under the appellation of Danes* took place; he supposes me to refer, in what I have said of the building this temple, to those periods. But as my account particularly refers to *times much anterior* to the Christian æra, wherein this religion did actually exist, and was in practice, these adventurers may be supposed to hold the tenets of it: so that my conjecture may be right, and my *Nanic temple* stand firm, till my friend brings more serious artillery against it.

Thus far, in presenting these drawings, I have thought it a justice to myself to go, in defending the consistence of my conjecture as founded on traditional facts and fair argument. As to the conjecture itself, I am so far from seriously defending it, that I lay these drawings before the Society, in order to elicit and draw from them other and better opinions; and I throw out my opinion merely as *a theorem on experimental reasoning*, which being fairly discussed may lead to something much nearer to the truth than I presume to have gone. For the same reason I will add the opinion of the Rev. Mr. Ledwich, LL.B. vicar of Aghaboe in Ireland, on the same subject [*f*].

He observes, in speaking of the sources and progress of idolatry, “ the next step was to consecrate the ship or boat, and hold it up as an object of religious worship. Thus in an ancient calendar preserved by Gruter, among the festivals is the ship of Isis, the ship of Hercules, and the Trieris of Ammon, also sacred.

“ As now ships were believed to be the temples of some gods, and partaking of their essence, they were judged to be

[*f*] In a letter addressed to me, Jan. 3, 1783. Printed in the *Collectanea Hibernica*, N^o XI. p. 427.

“ no unsuitable cemeteries for the deceased, and accordingly
“ the dead were laid in them. Antinous, as appears by a passage of Epiphanius [g], was interred in a boat. One of the
“ laws [h] of the Danish prince Frotho is, that each general
“ or officer who fell in battle should be burnt in a pile made
“ of his ship [i].

“ THE Icelanders buried in a boat. Asmund would not suffer his faithful servant to lye in the same skiff with him.

“ The room within the boat is too narrow,

“ A warrior should have a better place ;

“ For I can govern a boat by myself.

“ At length the Northerns erected royal tombs or tumuli of
“ the size and figure of a great ship [k]. These tombs were afterwards temples, whereat the people annually assembled to offer sacrifice for the prosperity of the nation.

“ You have started fresh game for our antiquaries, whose inquiries will be directed after other ship-temples, which no doubt are to be found in different parts of this kingdom.”

To the matters contained in the letter of this ingenious and learned gentleman, which he very civilly says he writes to strengthen and confirm what I had advanced, I subscribe, as containing an opinion less fanciful and more consonant to fact than that which I had thrown out. It is due to that candour with which he pursues his inquiries after truth, to make this acknowledgment.

[g] Cuperi Harp. p. 14.

[h] I rather apprehend that this was a particular direction on a particular occasion ; see the passage in the fifth book of Saxo Grammaticus.

[i] Centurionis vero vel satrapæ corpus rogo, propriâ nave constructo, funeralium constituit. Saxo Grammaticus, lib. v. p. 87. l. 44.

[k] Regios vero tumulos ad magnitudinem et figuram carinæ maximæ navis. Steph. ad Sax. Grammat. p. 91.

THE opinion which I had thrown out as a conjecture gives *the principle* actually contained in the Edda, on which these superstitions of a naval people were founded. The northern people in general believed in a future state of being. They supposed that the soul, as in this present life it is cloathed with a material body, would, in the next, have also a body suited to that state, an ætherial vehicle; that the objects also of its delight, its happiness, and glory, would exist there also in a kind of metaphysical existence under an aereal substance; which objects it would thus possess and enjoy in a more transcendant degree. Hence the great hunters and warriors had the accompaniments of their former sports, or with which they performed their actions of glory, buried with them. The hunter had his bow, his spear, and his dog, laid in the same tomb. The heroes of the land troops had their arms and their horse buried with them: the naval Victs or heroes were buried in their ships, or were burnt together with them, or *finally had their tombs erected in the form of a ship*. This by a naval people was considered as the most compleat and supreme degree of future happiness. It was not only that thus their honours were perpetuated, but that in this state, in the same manner as the gods themselves were conveyed in their ætherial Skidbladner, these heroes sailed about amongst them in the ship of their glory. This was the *principle*, and Mr. Ledwich has given the application of it *in the fact*; and I close with him in opinion, that this building was one of those tombs, which, built in the form of a ship, was erected to the honour of some great naval vict who died in Ireland. If any superstitious ceremonies were afterward performed at this consecrated place, it might become a temple.

THESE several opinions and conjectures however, I submit, together with the drawings, to the examination of the Society, and to such better accounts as any of our learned members may give.

I am Sir,

Your very obedient
and humble servant,

T. POWNALL.

P. S. As the Rev. Mr. Ledwich was pleased to say in his last, that the account and explanation which I had given of *ship-temples* had raised the curiosity of their antiquaries; and that no doubt in consequence thereof many others, before unnoticed, would be now observed; so in confirmation of that conjecture I receive from him, in a letter dated the second of September, the following account of the matter *in fact*.

“ MR. Beauford writes me word, that another *ship-temple* has
“ been discovered in the county of Mayo, and barony of Costello, covered with a single stone. The draught of this is but
“ rudely taken. When a good one can be had, it shall be transmitted to you. You have admirably illustrated the principle
“ of those temples; the new point of light in which you have
“ placed the *study of antiquities* will give a view of that study,
“ hitherto unnoticed and reserved solely for your discovery.”

To the Rev. Mr. Norris Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries.

N. B. Since the printing of the above, a drawing and account of this naval sepulchre in the county of Mayo has been received by Gov. Pownall and is of an uncommon curious nature.

XV. *Extract of a Letter from the Rev. Dr. Percy,
Bishop of Dromore in Ireland, to the Rev. Dr. Lort,
on some large Fossil Horns.*

Read December 4, 1783.

I HAVE lately purchased a pair of the largest fossil horns, I believe, ever found in Ireland, with some of the bones of that enormous race of deer which are dug up in the strata of marle that lye beneath our bogs. I do not find that they are discovered in the bogs themselves, but generally in the marle pits which are opened after the peat grafs is removed. One of these horns measures from the root at its insertion in the scull to the tip of its remotest branch seven feet and one inch; the other six feet and nine inches; to which add the interval of four inches in the scull between their roots, and the distance from the tip of one horn to the tip of the other is fourteen feet four inches. The scull which is intire measures from the end to the vertebræ of the neck to the tip of the nose twenty-three inches; the breadth of the forehead above the eyes is eleven inches and 1-fourth.

I HAVE the thigh bone, which is much larger than that of an ox, as is the bladebone of the shoulder.

I BELIEVE these horns differ not only in magnitude but in form from those of any species of deer now found in the world, certainly from the moose deer and elk. The bishop of Clonsfert,
Dr.

Dr. Law, tells me, he heard a gentleman from India speak of an enormous deer, still found in Tartary to the north and west of China, which have been thought to have been the same with ours. It is remarkable that no history, no tradition, no fable of the most antient Irish bards, ever contains the most distant allusion or slightest mention of these gigantic animals.

LORD Moira tells me, that he lately sent over some of the bones of this animal to be examined by some gentlemen of the Royal and Antiquarian Societies; and that the result of the enquiry was, that it was a non-existent animal. All here agree that those in my possession are the largest yet known, as few have ever been found that have extended beyond twelve feet. I lately got another large pair with the scull of the animal entire, which from its decayed teeth appeared to have died of old age, yet they measured with the scull but eleven feet and four inches.

XVI. *Conjectures on the name of the Roman Station Vinovium or Bincheſter. In a Letter to the Rev. Dr. Kaye, Dean of Lincoln. By John Cade, Eſq.*

Read November 27, 1783.

DEAR SIR,

THE Society of Antiquaries having been pleaſed to admit my former conjectures on Roman Ways hitherto unnoticed and undeſcribed, permit me to offer by way of appendix, ſome conjectures on the ſtation at *Bincheſter*; which being ſituated upon one of the ſtrata, and of great eminence under the Roman government, may not be an improper ſubject for inveſtigation.

SHOULD theſe meet with the ſame favourable reception, I may hereafter be imboldened to trouble you with ſome farther obſervations on the antiquities of this county, where there are really more remains within the vicinity of its capital, than are to be met with in any other place I have yet noticed, Wiltſhire excepted. I am with great ſincerity, dear Sir,

Your moſt obliged and faithful humble ſervant,

JOHN CADE.

BINCHESTER,

BINCHESTER, the *Vinovium* of Antoninus, and *Binovium* of Ptolemy situated on the Stratum called the Fosseway, was a celebrated Roman city of the Brigantes, and was sacred to Bacchus, and derived its name *Vinovium*, from the festivals instituted there in honor of that Deity. Altars, and antiquities of various kinds, have frequently been found there. Camden takes notice of an altar and inscription to the Deæ Matres; and of another to the genius of the place [a]; but the most singular is that of a priapus, at present in the possession of Farrer Wren, Esq. the proprietor of the Station. There has likewise been found another portable altar, exactly similar to that in the 15th plate of Gordon's *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, but without any inscription; and also a small bronze image of that Deity, which had probably been a symbol worn by the Bacchæ or female priestesses, as there is a perforation in its lower parts; or perhaps it may be classed among the lares, similar to those discovered at the Devises in Wiltshire in the year 1714.

THIS celebrated Station comprises about twenty-nine acres, and is at present an inexhaustible repository of antiquities. Mr. Wren has in his collection some elegant intaglias found there, with variety of silver and copper coins, both of the upper and lower empire, down to the time of Valentinian and Theodosius.

PERHAPS the Roman pottery at *Vinovium* has been equal, if not superior, to most in Britain. I have seen some curious fragments of bowls and vases, encircled with vine branches; others

[a] These have been for many years past placed on each side of the portal exposed to the inclemency of the weather, and are now greatly defaced and illegible.

entire, which appear to have been used as sacrificing vessels; together with a vast variety of specimens of different compositions, some resembling terra cotta, and others of glass.

THERE has likewise been lately dug up a large bas relief of a faun with an altar, but the inscription hitherto illegible. Dr. Spence, in his splendid edition of the *Polymetis*, styles the fauns and satyrs rural Deities, attendants on Bacchus; and Calmet in his learned Dictionary of the Bible, in a print of heathen idols, gives the bust of the lascivious Pan for Priapus, which is farther elucidated by that singular statue in the Ludovisian gardens at Rome, where he is teaching Apollo to play on the shepherd's reed. The ancients feign Priapus to be the son of Bacchus and Venus, and as such he had divine honors paid him at all the festivals of the Bacchanalia, where his image was presented to public view. See the history of the ancient Bacchus in Diodorus Siculus, book IV, where he is said to have been the son of Jupiter and Proserpina; and his licentious sacrifices were celebrated in secret, and in the night.

If the etymology now proposed be admitted, and one were at liberty to deduce the names of the several stations from the Roman rather than the British language, *Vindoma*, now *Silchester*, in Hampshire, may have had a temple dedicated to this Deity, and there may have been another at *Vindomara*, the latter name being further expressive of a maritime situation. Thus there may have been many temples in Britain dedicated to Bacchus; *Vindogladia* in Dorsetshire may perhaps have derived its name from the festive and athletic sports of the gladiators in his honor; *Vindebala* from baths dedicated to Bacchus; and *Vindelicia* in Germany may be indebted to the excellence of its vines for the etymology, rather than to the reason assigned by Littleton
in

in his dictionary. The Bacchanalian feasts were suppressed at Rome A. U. 568, on account of the infamous ceremonies and debaucheries practised at them.

I could have wished to have sent a correct plan and view of Binchester herewith, but flatter myself that omission will be amply compensated by what the public may soon receive from gentlemen who have surveyed the place, and are qualified to illustrate its history; the present conjectures being very inadequate to the subject.

XVII. *Further Observations on the early Irish Antiquities. By Thomas Pownall, Esq. In a Letter to the Rev. Mr. Norris, Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries.*

Read November 27, 1783.

SIR,

HEREIN I transmit to you, for the consideration of the Society, extracts of letters from colonel Vallancy to me, touching some singular remains of very high antiquity found in Ireland, together with copper-plate impressions of drawings of the articles referred to.

THOSE curious things in their names certainly, and in their nature probably, have reference to an oriental origin. Various and very unsettled are the opinions of the learned as to the connection betwixt the east (I mean Phœnicia, Syria, Ionia, and the Carthaginians) with Ireland. As also how these peculiar customs in Ireland, apparently oriental, acquired establishment there. It has long been my opinion, and it is now thirteen years past since I submitted [a] that opinion to the Society of Antiquaries.

[a] Vide *Archæologia*, vol. II. p. 243. vol. III. p. 303. 350. 355.

I. That

I. That these commercial people from the east had a navigation, and trading settlements in the Atlantic ocean, both on the coasts of Africa and Europe, even advanced to Thule, their most remote settlement; in like manner as we Europeans have now in the East Indies.

II. THAT those settlements, in all, or most of these countries, were advanced marine posts, and subordinate factories, dependent on their great principal establishment at Gades: as our out posts and subordinate factories in the Indies are dependant on their respective principal establishments.

III. THAT similar views, animated by a like zeal which prompted the Jesuits to undertake *their* missions to Paragua, &c. animated the Magi, or Gawrs, the priests of these eastern people, to undertake *like missions*, and, perhaps, to form *somewhat similar establishments* amongst the native inhabitants of these remote parts, but particularly in the south parts of Ireland, the famous *ultima Thule*.

IV. THAT from these sources of commercial enterprize, and religious zeal, without recurring to the necessity of oriental colonies, I have long thought, that these reliques of antiquity (especially those found in the south of Ireland) derive their origin, and that under reference to this derivation they may be best explained.

OTHER gentlemen, with infinitely more learning than I pretend to have, and with much greater extent of literary investigation than I am either able or inclined to pursue, have made great advances towards tracing *the emigration of colonies* from the east, and their settlements in these utmost western parts: as beyond, and before all others, my friend colonel Vallancy has done.

He,

HE, however, with that candor and liberality of sentiment, which is the characteristic of real learning, permits me, where we differ, to controvert his opinions, as he does mine, without engaging in those polemical disputes, which disgrace and are a reproach to literature.

BUT to pursue my opinion.—The native, or original inhabitants of Ireland in the first generations, took the name of *Cymri*, *Cimbri*, or *Cimmerians*; and in the second, that of *Cotti* or *Gothi*, called also *Es-cotti*, or *'Scotti*, as being the *furthest*, or *remote* Cotti. Upon these first the *Vics*, or *Ficts* (in later ages called by the Romans *Picts*), who were pirates and sea-rovers, made incursions; in the second instance, the *Thanes* (pronounced, and in after time written, *Danes*) made, under a different form, not only incursions, but permanent conquests.

TO these generations of *Cymri*, and *Cotti*, all matters of antiquity respecting *the general inhabitancy of Ireland* are to be referred; whilst the remains of *particular marine posts, and military settlements, customs, and manners in the north of Ireland*, are to be referred to the invasions of these Sea-rovers or Vikanders, coming under various appellations.

HAVING prefaced thus much, I will now give those extracts from colonel Vallancy's letters, which are submitted to the perusal of the Society, and which will, I have no doubt, greatly excite their curiosity to see the opinion which this learned gentleman holds upon these matters, when he comes to give it more at large.

“ DUBLIN, Oct. 4, 1783. Inclosed you have two plates, prepared for my N^o XIII. They are of the most valuable antiquities the western world can produce. The *Iodhan Morain* is of gold, the size of the drawing. Keating says it was a
 “ chain,





*The EDILIN MORA
of Judgement of the 18*

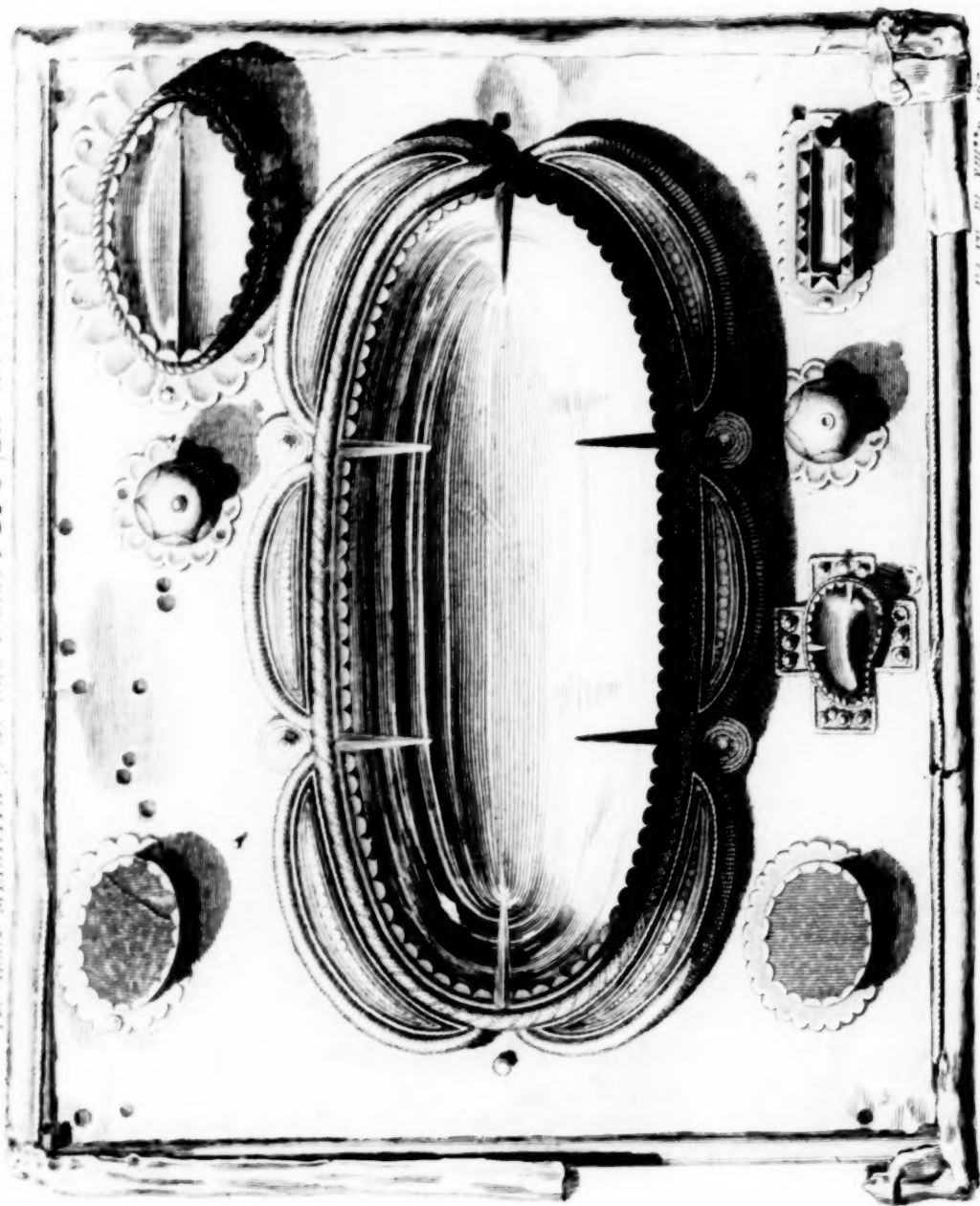
מוריו



Ver. Breast-plate
High DRUIDS

171

The Look MEASURE of the length bands, 1840-1841



“ chain, or a collar, or a breast-plate, or, &c. &c. worn on the
 “ neck of the judge when on the bench, and that it would close
 “ and choak him if he gave wrong judgement; and was so
 “ called from *Moran*, who was formerly a great judge in Ire-
 “ land. My surprize was great when I found in Buxtorf that
 “ *Iodham Morain* was the Chaldee name of the *Urim* and *Thum-*
 “ *min*. Not satisfied with Buxtorf, I wrote to the learned Rabbi
 “ Heideck, now in London. His answer was satisfactory,
 “ and contained a dozen quotations from various Talmud-com-
 “ mentators. In short, my friend the Rabbi will have it, that
 “ none but Jews or Chaldees could have brought the name
 “ and the thing to Ireland. In the small cups, or circles you
 “ will see two small pointed pyramids, of highly polished gold,
 “ which I suppose represented the *urim* and *thummin*. It was
 “ hung by a golden chain, and worn on the breast. Unfor-
 “ tunately, in cutting the turf (where this was found) the flane,
 “ or spade struck the middle; it only however bruised it, as re-
 “ presented in the plate. A friend of mine found another some
 “ years ago, and sold it for thirty pounds. This weighs exactly
 “ twenty-two guineas.

“ THE other (plate B) is as great a curiosity. It is a very
 “ large chrystal stone set in silver, with some other stones round
 “ it. There are many others in the kingdom; but all, which
 “ I have had drawings of, except this, bear the marks of
 “ Christianity, a crucifix always being in the middle. The
 “ name of them is *cloch-meifi-cith* or the stone of *meifi*, judge-
 “ ment. *Cith* is vision, revelation. They say it is an Hebrew
 “ name, at least they are told so: and in truth it is no less than
 “ אבן משפית *Ebn Maskeith* forbidden by Moses in the XXVith
 “ chapter of Leviticus verse 1. a name that puzzled all the Jewish
 “ rabbins,

“ rabbins, and our Hebrew commentators. You will find all
 “ their opinions in Spencer, de Legibus, vol. I. and this learned
 “ man concludes, *ad eam explicandam vatem potius quam in-*
 “ *terpretem postulari videatur.* It was also called *breathachl on.*
 “ *On* is the same as *cloch* a stone ; and *breathael* is synonymous
 “ to *meisi*, judgement. Hence we find it amongst the Syrians
 “ and Ægyptians, by *Maschith*, and among the Turks and
 “ Arabs by *Lapis Braclan.*”

IN a second letter, dated Oct. 23, 1783, the Colonel observes,
 “ We have another curious custom still remaining under its
 “ oriental name. It was a species of divination by five small
 “ stones, tossed about and caught on the hand in various ways.
 “ Our boys play at this as a game, and so do those on the banks
 “ of the Nile, as you will find in Nieubhur. This game has
 “ two names in Irish, viz. *purin* and *clocha tag*, or *tag-stones*,
 “ corrupted by the Irish-English to *jackstones*. I need not tell
 “ you that פור *pur* in Hebrew and פורין *purin* (plural) in Chal-
 “ dee means *lots* : and that the English version of the Bible re-
 “ tains the Hebrew word in the IXth chapter of Esther. *Tag*
 “ is from the Etruscan *Tages*, that prince of diviners. In the
 “ Memoires of the Florentine Academy you will find a force-
 “ refs in the action of divination, drawn from a picture found
 “ in Herculaneum. Two stones remain on the back of the
 “ hand and three on the ground. Now this is *the first cast* of
 “ our *purin*. I shall be glad to be informed if this game is
 “ any where practiced in Wales or England.”

In a third letter, dated Nov. 4, 1783, he says “ The enclosed
 “ are run off from a brass medal found lately in a bog in Allens-
 “ town in the county of Meath. There is a square hole in the
 “ center. You will recollect that by this impression the cha-

“acters are reversed. I think the characters in the line
“marked S are old Syriac, but of the others I can make no-
“thing. Among the learned men of your Society probably it
“may be decyphered *. I beg the favour of you to try.

“P. S. Every day turns up something curious. *A most*
“*beautiful vase*, of the true Etruscan form, was sent to me
“yesterday. It has two handles terminating in horses heads,
“elegantly finished; it has neither top nor bottom, is seven in-
“ches high, and shall be engraved for N° XIII.” C. V.

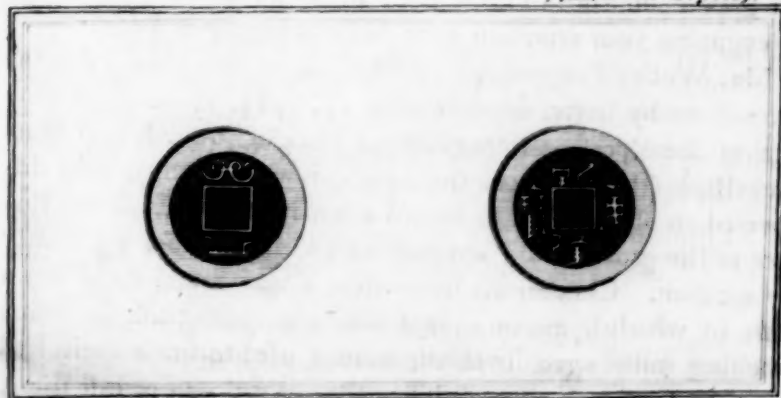
I am Sir,

Your obedient humble servant,

T. POWNALL.

* I believe that this is only one of the pieces of Chinese money, which they
string on a thong of leather: compared with those it appears to be exactly simi-
lar. T. P.

Pl. XVIII. Vol VII. p. 169.



VOL. VII.

Z

XVIII. Description

XVIII. *Description of a second Roman Pig of Lead found in Derbyshire; now in the possession of Mr. Adam Wolley of Matlock in that County, with Remarks. By Samuel Pegge. In a Letter to Robert Banks Hodgkinson, Esq.*

Read December 11, 1783.

DEAR SIR,

I BEG leave to address you in regard to another mass of Roman lead lately discovered in Derbyshire. Your attachment to this subject expressed to me in one of your late letters gives me great confidence to hope you will not think me troublesome in engaging your attention once more as briefly as I can.

Mr. Wolley the younger of Matlock in this county has informed me by letter, dated October 21, 1783, that a short time ago as some persons were ridding a piece of ground near Matlock-Bank (the commons there being now inclosing), they discovered an old pig of lead buried a few inches beneath the surface of the ground, and covered with a large stone, apparently by accident. Close to the spot where it was found there was a *bale*, by which is meant a place where in ancient times, before smelting mills were invented, miners used to smelt their lead ores [a], so that in all probability the pig was run or cast there.

[a] It takes its name from the hillocks of earth and rubbish at such places.

I NEED not trouble you with a drawing of this block, since it resembles all the rest of the Roman pigs hitherto discovered, but only to add that the weight is 84 lb. the length on the top 19 inches; breadth $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches; ditto at bottom 22 inches; breadth $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

THE inscription on the top is, in prominent letters,

L ARVCONI VERECVNÐ MEAL LVVD,

where you will observe, that the stroke on the latter leg of the second V appeared to Mr. Wolley to be a fault in casting, or perhaps in the mould. The reading consequently will be plainly, Lucii ARVCONI (i. e. Aruconii) VERECVNDI METALlici (or METALLarii) LVNDinensis. That is 'The property of Lucius Aruconius Verecundus lead merchant of London.'

THE few observations I have to make on the pig and its inscription are

1. THIS is the lightest Roman mass of lead of any yet found, Mr. Green's pig [b] weighing 150 lb. and the Hampshire one (of which I lately sent you an account) the same [c]. Mr. Nightingale's pig found on Cromford moor in this county raises but 126 lb. [d], whence it should seem there was no fixed standard for weight when this block was formed. This is the less to be wondered at, since,

2dly. As Mr. Wolley observed, the piece was run at different times, at 9 or 10 [e], which must be owing to one of these two causes, either that the ore was gotten in small quantities, and smelted as it was gotten; or that in these *boles*, which were but

[b] Gent. Magazine, 1773, vol. XLIII. p. 61.

[c] Of this see Gent. Mag. 1783. vol. LIII. p. 935.

[d] Archaeologia, vol. V. p. 375.

[e] See for this Archaeologia, V. p. 377.

clumsy and inconvenient hearths, the miners or smelters could not fuse a larger quantity of ore at once. The latter appears to be the more probable reason in the present case, as Mr. Wolley tells me there has often been found at these *boles*, which are scattered all over Matlock moors, a sufficient quantity of ore to have run 5 or 6 pigs larger than this in question. There was no lead-ore, however, found at the Bole we are speaking of, only the hearth, which was composed of large flat stones, appeared to be much burnt by fire. May we not then from this state of things conclude, that this piece, so light in comparison with others, is imperfect, as wanting 3 or 4, or, perhaps, more layers or runnings to complete it? But I leave this, Sir, to your better judgement.

3dly. WHAT is a very extraordinary phænomenon, there appear on the outside of this pig a great many small particles of brass mixed with the lead. This particular circumstance has not been observed in any other of our Roman blocks, and certainly, as Mr. Wolley very justly remarks in his letter to me, is difficult to be accounted for. For my part, I dare not attempt it, being only able to say, that both copper and brass were well known to the Romans, and that *lapis calaminaris* is plentifully found in the neighbourhood.

To come 4thly to the inscription; *Lucius Aruconius Verecundus* is a genuine Roman name. There is a family called *Aceronnia* in Rosinus [*f*], and perhaps the name *Aruconius* may be here miswritten for *Aceronnius*. *Verecundus*, as an Agnomen, occurs in Fleetwood [*g*]. The pig, as appears also from the form of the letters, and the figure of the block so similar to

[*f*] Rom. Antiq. p. 904.

[*g*] Inscript. Antiq. Sylloge, p. 205. and repeatedly in Gruter.

those which bear the names of Claudius, Nero, Vespasian, Domitian, and Hadrian, is undoubtedly of Roman manufacture. This I thought proper to note and establish, because there is not the least hint dropped in the inscription which leads to time, as in the other ancient pigs, and consequently one knows not to what particular reign to refer it with any certainty; though that of Antoninus Pius may be plausibly conjectured.

5thly, I take Aruconius Verecundus to have been the merchant, who, residing in London, a principal mart for this commodity at the time, if not the very principal, was the proprietor, farmer, or undertaker, of the lead works at Matlock: the block was consequently his property, and as such was marked with his name. The name of the city of London was often written with V in the first syllable [b], and some have deduced it, it being undoubtedly British, from Llyyn or Llwyn, *nemus*, and dinas, *oppidum* [i].

Lastly, In regard to the place, the parish of Matlock; lead mines are not only wrought here at this time, but were so as antiently as the making of Domesday Book; for whereas in that record we find a mine at *Mestesforde*, the modern name of which place was unknown to me A. D. 1777 [k], my ingenious friend, the Rev. John Mason, conjectures that the great hill *Maston* is intended, the termination *forde* being only added because of the *Ford* over the river *Derwent* there: and this, he

[b] Amm. Marcellinus, p. 234 & var. Lect. Edit. Vales. Beda, p. 3. Indeed the Saxons almost universally give it so in the coins and MSS.

[i] Gale, ad Antonin. p. 70. Mr. Sherringham observes, p. 21, that the British name is *Llundain*, and undoubtedly the name is of British original. See Richards's Brit. and Engl. Dict. v. *Llundain*, and archbishop Usher's Brit. Eccl. Antiq. p. 34.

[k] Archaeologia, V. p. 374.

thinks,

174 *Mr. PEGGE's Description of a Roman Pig of Lead.*

thinks, is confirmed by the name of the mine there, called *Old Mefter*, corrupted now into *Negfer*. Matlock moors are very bare of wood, the *Peak* not more; but methinks the *boles* so frequently found there, do sufficiently account for their nakedness, all the wood growing there being wasted and consumed by them. This perhaps may pass for a further argument of the antiquity of the lead mines here, as such a total devastation and annihilation of the timber could not be the work of a few centuries.

I have the honour, Sir, of being

Your most obedient humble servant,

SAMUEL PEGGE.

P. S. It were ardently to be wished that the Roman pigs of lead were all lodged together in the British Museum.

THE persons who found this old pig of lead sold it to a clock-maker of Matlock; and Mr. Wolley, the younger, whom perhaps you may know, purchased it of him, and now has it.

Fig 1.

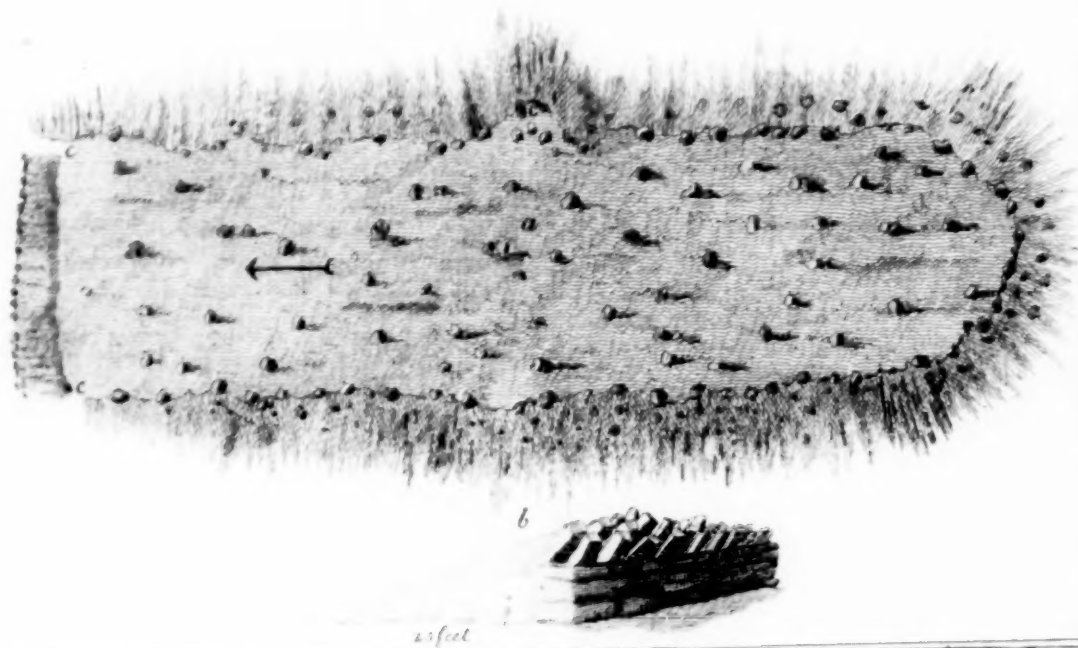
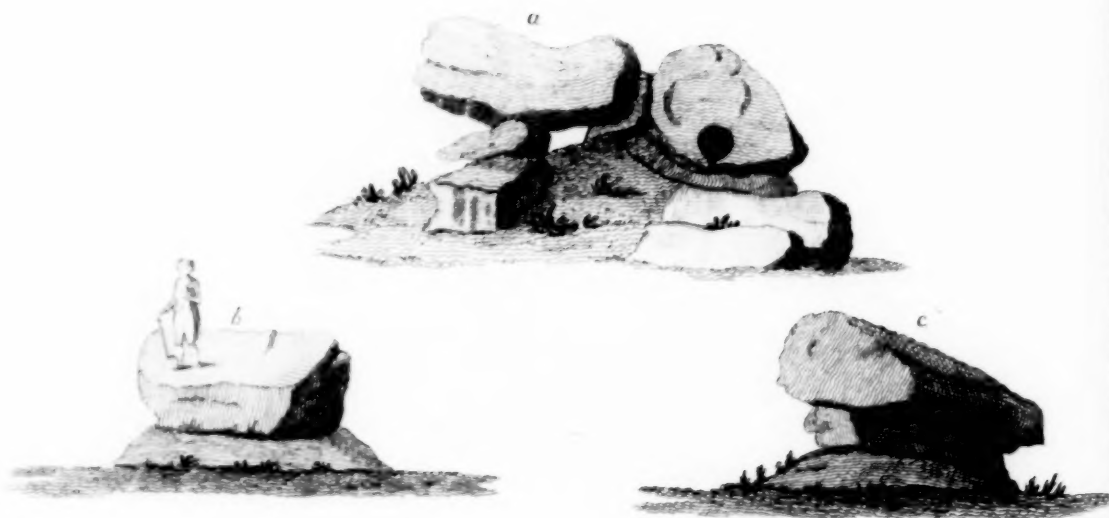


Fig 2.

*Cairn work in Derbyshire.*

XIX. *A further account of some Druidical Remains in Derbyshire.* By Hayman Rooke, Esq.

Read December 11, 1783.

ON Hatherfage Moor in the high Peak, not far from the road that goes from Sheffield to Manchester, is a British work, called *Cair's work*. See the plan Pl. XIII. fig. 1. It is about two hundred yards in length, and sixty-one in width. It takes in an hill precipitous all round, except at the north end, where there is a wall of a very singular construction. It is near three feet thick, and consists of three rows of very large stones. On the top are other large stones, set obliquely end ways, a view of which is in the same plate fig. 1. at b. The inside is filled up with earth and stones, which form the vallum, and slope inwards twenty-five feet. The height of the wall to the top of the sloping stones (as abovementioned) is nine feet four inches. The principal entrance seems to have been at the east end of the wall; a lesser one is on the west side; both marked (c) in the plan. The area of this work is full of rocks and large stones; several of these are rocking stones, three of which are engraved in Plate XIII. fig 2. (a) thirteen feet in length, (b) eight feet, (c) nine feet six inches; and others have rock basons.

ON

On the east side of this work, is a very singular stone (see Plate XIV. fig. 1 [a]). It measures thirteen feet six inches in length, hangs over a precipice, and is supported by two small stones; that on the north side is marked (b); the other is on the south side in a similar situation, which cannot be seen from the spot whence the drawing was taken. These plainly appear to have been fixed by art. On the top is a large rock basin four feet three inches diameter, close to which, on the south side, is an hollow cut like a chair, with a step to rest the feet upon. This, the country people say, has always been called *Cair's chair*; from whence we may suppose this to have been a seat of justice, where the principal Druid sat, who, being contiguous to the rock basin, might have recourse to appearances in the water, in doubtful cases. It is natural therefore to imagine, from the many sacred erections, that this place must have been intended for holy uss, or a court of justice.

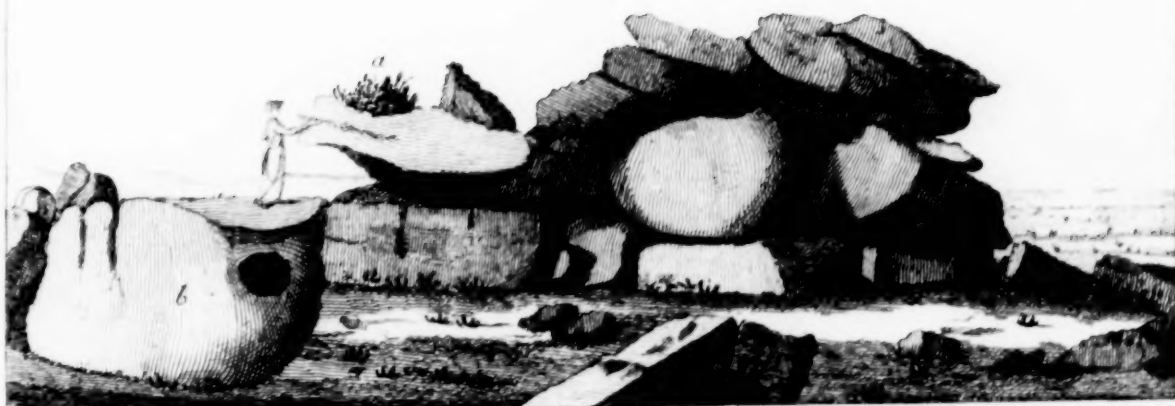
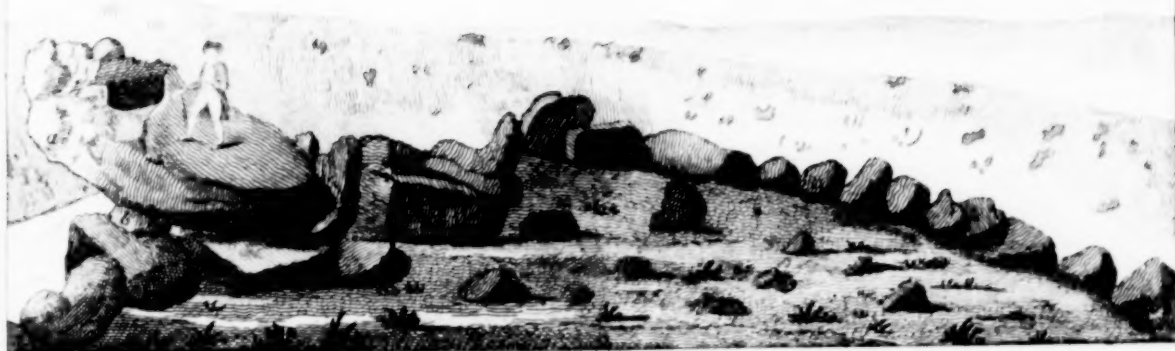
At about three hundred yards north of this work, is an assemblage of rocks, called Higgar Tor (see Plate XIV. fig. 2.) where (a) is a rocking stone twenty-nine feet in circumference, and (b) a large stone with a rock basin.

ABOUT two miles west of Hatherlage Moor, and separated by a cultivated valley, is Highlow Moor. At the east end is a large tumulus of earth and stone, one hundred and eighty-nine feet in circumference, which seemed to have been opened at the top and side; near it are five small ones. At about six hundred yards from these, at the West end of the Moor, are three small tumuli of earth and stone, but little raised from the ground, the largest twenty-four feet diameter. At the East end of Alney

[a] See its situation in the plan at (c). It is necessary to observe, that the plan was not taken with any instrument.

Moor,

A view of Cair's chair in Cair's work



A view of Higgan's Fort with the Rocking stone

Moor adjoining to Highlow moor is a circle inclosed with a vallum of earth, within which are four upright stones, eighteen inches out of the ground. In the year 1761, my worthy and learned friend Mr. Pegge of Whittington explored these moors, and says, that there were then nine large stones standing at equal distances, and that on Overton Moor, which joins to the above, was a large circle of stones, whereof some stood on end, but there are now hardly any traces to be seen of this circle, the stones having been all taken up for the repair of roads and walls.

IN those lesser tumuli or lows scattered over this tract human bones have often been discovered; which shews that they as well as the large tumuli, were all sepulchres. In some of the largest have been found urns, sometimes singly, and sometimes four in a low. Besides the urns, beads and rings have been found, which shews that they were British.

XX. *Remarks on the preceding Article. By Mr. Bray.
In a Letter to the Secretary.*

Read December 18, 1783.

SIR,

I AM very glad to find that the ingenious major Rooke has furnished the Society with drawings of that curious remain of very early fortification, the *Caers-work* (or, as the name was given me, the *Carle's-work*) near Hatherfage in Derbyshire. It was first noticed in print (I believe) in the tour into that country which I ventured to lay before the public this year, but is much better illustrated by the major. If it will not be improper to offer the Society two drawings in addition to those which Mr. Rooke has sent, I will beg you to present them.

THE number of curiosities of the highest antiquity which that county affords, well deserves attention, and (I speak experimentally) the traveller who shall go in search of them will no where find a greater variety of scenery, than is there presented in succession to his eye. The antiquary will, however, have to lament that whilst turnpike roads facilitate his visit, the barbarity of turnpike surveyors will destroy the objects of his search; barrows, druidical temples, rocking stones, and whatever comes in their way, fall a prey to their sacrilegious hands. It has been the case with one rocking stone near this work, which was too near the road to escape;—*nimum vicina Cremonæ!*

ADJOINING to Hatherfage church yard is a small circular fortification; perhaps that of the enemy which might cause the rude one on the Moor. I am, &c.

WILLIAM BRAY.

XXI. *Observations*

XXI. *Observations on a Crystal Vase in the possession of the Earl of Besborough.* By Thomas Pownall, Esq.

Read February 13, 20, 1783.

Introduction, giving an account of the antique cup, the subject of this paper.

§ 1. *Of the nature and ceremony of the convivial libations.*

§ 2. *Of the Deities to whom these libations were made at the convivial table, the Trina Numina. An inquiry who these were. The causes of the confusion in this point even amongst the early Roman antiquaries.*

Inquiry into the particular idea annexed by the ancients to the word Numen, and of the word Genius.

Close of this section of the Trina Numina. That Mercury, according to the original ancient idea of this God and his Numen, always was one.

And the two Lares, under the same original idea, the other two of these Trina Numina.

The cup described: and by the ideas above suggested and premised.

An attempt to show that this cup was one of those three, which used to be set on the table after the eatables were removed, and used in this ceremony of the Convivial Libation.

THE antique crystal vase or cup, which is proposed as the subject of this paper, is the property of the earl of Besborough. It was formerly in the cabinet of baron Stosch. The baron used to call it *l'idole de son cabinet*; and all the connoisseurs held it in esteem as the greatest curiosity there. The nephew of the baron brought it to England, and sold it to Mr. Angel Carmey of Chelsea, a lover of the study of antiquities, for sixty pounds eighteen shillings. After the death of this pos-

feſſor, it was ſold at public auction by Mr. Langford. Lord Rockingham bought it for ſixty-eight or ſixty-nine pounds; he afterwards let lord Beſborough, who had bid for it at the ſale, have it for ſeventy pounds; and it is now preſerved in the library of his villa at Roehampton. This account I received from his lordſhip. I did not chooſe to charge myſelf with the exhibition of any thing ſo valuable and at the ſame time ſo liable to accidents; but if any learned member of the Society, whoſe curioſity may be raiſed by the account given of it in this paper, ſhould deſire to ſee it, lord Beſborough will bring it to town, and be ready to ſhew it to ſuch. In the mean time the engraved drawings, the one given to me by lord Beſborough, and another which I have had engraved, will answer in every purpoſe to every reference which this deſcription will have occaſion to make. Theſe drawings, together with this paper, are here with great reſpect laid before the Society.

It would be needleſs and impertinent to ſtate to this learned Society the great value which the antient Romans ſet on theſe Crystal Cups. It will be ſufficient to call to their recollection, on this occaſion, that mention is made of one, which held $3\frac{1}{2}$ pints, having coſt a ſum equal to 645*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*; that a Roman lady paid 121*o*l.** 18*s.* 9*d.* for another; and that Petronius, in ſpight to, and to diſappoint Nero, broke one eſtimated at a ſum equal to 3415*l.* ſterling.

In order to plain the way to the account which I ſhall endeavour to give of this veſſel, of its peculiar ornament, and of its uſe, I will beg leave to ſtate ſome of the cuſtoms obſerved by the antients at their convivial banquets. I mean only ſuch as this paper will have occaſion to refer to; for theſe their cuſtoms in general are perfectly known to every learned Member of this Society.

FIRST, of their libations. The antients obſerved the ceremony of making libations at their convivial feaſts in the ſame manner

In the Collection of the Earl of Bekeborough



BOTTOM

*A Roman Drinking Cup of excellent workmanship,
wrought out of a solid piece of Rock Chrystal, a singular
Piece of Antiquity.*

manner as was done in solemn form at their sacrifices. The Master of the Feast took a Patera, or Grace-cup, filled with wine; he poured out a little of the liquor on the table, in the same manner as the *Rex Sacrificii* or Priest did upon the altar[a]: the table on this occasion was considered as the altar of the Divinities to whom the libations were made,

“ Mos erat & mensæ credere adesse Deos.”

AFTER having thus poured, he tasted the cup, and delivered it to the person next to him in rank, or next in place upon his right hand, who did the same; and so the rest in order.

“ Dixit [b] [scil. Dido] et in mensam laticum libavit honorem.

“ Primaque libato summo tenus attegit ore

“ Tum Bitiæ dedit — — —

“ Post alii proceres.”

THE earliest antiquarian writers who mention these matters are uniform in their accounts, that the ancients at their banquets had three vessels placed on the side-board or set upon the table, after the eatables were removed, in order to make the three libations to the three objects of their devotion on these occasions: yet these writers have never yet agreed, who or what these three different objects were, or in what order the several libations were performed. The result of all that I have been able to collect on this point is collected equally from their differing, as from the concurrent opinions of those who agree: namely, that these three Deities, these *Trina Numina*, were the *Dii Penates*, as hereafter described and explained. I will first state the opinions of others, as they contradict each other, and will then presume to give my own, as reconcileable to all, or any of them. In the case as above quoted from Virgil, the three ob-

[a] Donatus pro Ara Mensam succedere dicit. Et Pierius in Virgil: Aræ vicem præstare posse Mensam dicatam.

[b] Virgil, *Æneid. Lib. v. 740.*

jects are *Jupiter* *Ξένος*, *Bacchus* *Latitiæ Dator*, and *Bona* *Juno*. The epithets applied to these *Trina Numina* are not mere descriptive, but characteristic epithets, defining the specific *Numen* or manifestation of the Deity to which each is applied. The first means that *Numen* (I shall endeavour to explain this word *Numen* hereafter) which presides over the rights and acts of Hospitality, over the house and table. By *Bacchus*, *Latitiæ Dator*, when spoken of a God of Carthage, may be understood, either the *Apollo*, *Liber*, or *Mercury* of the Romans, for these were, says Macrobius [c] all the same. By *Bona* *Juno* is not to be understood the Deity of *Juno* in general, the queen of Heaven, but that manifestation, or that *Numen*, which was the special protectrix of generation and child-bearing, *quæ dignata cubili est*.

ATHENÆUS [d] says, that among the Greeks the first libation was made *Ἀλάθῳ Δαίμονι*, with a cup of mere wine undiluted with water; and that afterward a second was made to *Jupiter Soter*, in a cup of mixed diluted wine [e]. Others say, that the first cup was consecrated to *Mercury*; the second to the *Graces*; and the third to *Jupiter Soter*. These antiquaries differ, more especially about the third. Some say, that the third was *Ἀλάθῳ Δαίμονι* [f], *Junoni* or *Bonæ Deæ*, others *Mercurio*.

[c] *Saturnalia*, lib. I. c. 19. and *Plutarch de Iside & Osiride*.

[d] Οἱ Ἕλληνες τῇ μὲν παρὰ οἴπνον ἀκράτῳ προσδομίνῳ τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἐπιφανῆσαι δαίμονα, τιμωρὶς τὸν ἐν οἴῳ δαίμονα· ἦν δὲ ἕτος ὁ Διόνυσος. τῇ δὲ μετὰ οἴπνον κραιμίνῳ πρῶτῳ προσδομίνῳ πότνιαν Δίᾳ Σωτῆρα ἐπιτίθει τὸν ἐν τῷ μίγματι ἀλύπῃ κρᾶσις τὸν καὶ τῶν ὁμῶν αἰτίαν ὑπελαβόλης. *Athenæus* XV. c. v. p. 675.

See more of this in *Jensii* *epist. ad Grævium sectionibus Lucianæis ad juncta*, p. 399.

[e] Τρεῖς κρατῆρες, ἐν τῷ α' Ἑρμῇ, β' Χαρίσι, γ' Διὶ Σωτῆρι. *Suidas*.

[f] "Nec Deus hunc mensâ, Dea nec dignata cubili est." *Vi g. Eclog. IV.* The *Deus* and *Dea* are here understood; the *Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων* & *Bona Dea*, or *Jupiter Soter* & *Bona Juno*.

Pitiscus collects another order. The first was, he says, consecrated to Mercury; the second to the Graces; the third to Jupiter Soter.

AMIDST all these various and differing opinions, I will venture to interpose my own, in which they may all meet; which is, that these *Trina Numina* were the Θεοὶ Μύχιοι, the *Dei Penatrales*, or *Penates*, the *Dii Præstitæ*, or *Præfides Hospitalii, Mensæ & Cubilis*. The two *Lares*, and Mercury their father, were these *Trina Numina*. This word *Lares*, as well as the words *Genius* and Δαίμων, were all general terms; and were therefore applicable to the Numen of any Deity, to whom, as to the *Dii Præstitæ*, or *Penates*, this or that city, or house, was more particularly devoted. Under these general ideas Ovid describes them,

“ *Mille Lares, Geniumque ducis qui tradidit illos.*

“ *Urbs habet; et vici Numina Trina colunt.*”

Ovid Fast. lib. V. 145.

These *Lares* might have a thousand different names in different parts; but they, with the “*Genius ducis qui tradidit illos*,” always made the *Trina Numina*. The *Lares* were only *two*. They were also generally understood to be the male and female, the *Deus* and *Dea*. Whence Virgil, speaking of an ill-fated person, and describing him as having no *Lares*, says,

“ *Nec Deus hunc mensâ, Dea nec dignata cubili est.*”

WITH the *Ægyptians* these *Trina Numina* were Mercury and Osiris and Isis; at *Ilium*, the *Dii Penates* were said to be Apollo and Neptune and Vesta. At Carthage they were what the Romans called Jupiter Hospitalis, Bacchus, and Bona Juno. At Athens Athena was one. Castor and Pollux were also said to be the *Gemelli Dei*. In short, they were so different in different countries, according to the different manifestations of Divine

vine Power, to which each country thought itself most obliged; according to the attributes of the *Numen* to which each house or family was dedicated; that neither Greeks nor Romans knew how to define them, or what to call them. There was some mystery in the divinity of them. They were brought from Ægypt. There I stop. Mr. Bryant goes further, and to higher antiquity, for their origin. The Lares were in Etruria prior to the origin of the Roman nation; and the Penates are said to have been brought from Ilium by Æneas [g]. "These gods," sayeth Dionysius Halicarnassensis, "the Romans called Penates: "the Greeks endeavoured by various appellations to raise and "impress some idea of them; they called them Παῖρῶσι, Γενέθλιοι, "Κτήσιοι, and Μύχιοι; some called them Ἑρκίοι. Each of these "appellations seems to have arisen from the different ideas of "the manifestations of these Deities, or of the attributes by "which their Numina and power were expressed: it is how- "ever most probable that, in however different modes they "expressed these attributes, they all meant and understood the "same thing." These nameless and many named *Numina* are by Macrobius, from the result of his inquiries, thus described [b]; "The Penates are those gods by whom we are "animated with an inward spirit; by whom we are clothed "with body; by whom we possess, or from whom we derive, "the power of reasoning." In short, each country had its own fable recorded of its own (Dii Præfites) patron gods; and the

[g] Τοὺς δὲ Θεοὺς τούτους Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν Πενάτας καλεῖσιν· οἳ δὲ ἑρμηνεύοντες εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν τ' ὄνομα οἳ μὲν Πατῆρες ἀποφαίνουσιν, οἳ δὲ Γενέθλιος· εἰσι δ' οἳ Κτησίους, ἄλλοι δὲ Μύχίους, οἳ δὲ Ἑρκίους. Ἔοικε δὲ τῶν τούτων ἕκαστος κατὰ τινας τῶν συμβεβηκότων αὐτοῖς ποιῆσθαι τὴν ἐπικλήσιν. κινδυνεύουσι τε ἂν τὸ αὐτὸ πᾶσις ἡμῶν γε πως τὸ αὐτὸ λέγην. Dionys. Halicarn. Lib. I. c. 67. p. 53. Edit. Hudion.

[b] Penates esse dixerunt per quos penitus spiramus; per quos habemus corpus; per quos rationem animi possidemus. Macrobius, Saturn. Lib. III. c. 4.

philosophers, by endeavouring to refer all to one Muthos, which they either did not understand, or would not venture to explain openly, made a most inexplicable theology of the whole.

It is not at all surprizing to find this variation and uncertainty amongst even the most early Antiquaries about those *Trina Numina*: when the ancients themselves, I mean the Greeks and Romans, borrowing their theology from foreign countries, scarce ever knew, amongst any of their gods, which was which. The Romans, who took up their religion at second-hand, appear scarce ever to have known what God they had gotten.

"Quem tamen esse Deum te dicam"—

says Ovid in his *Fasti* [g], addressing himself to Janus.

Hence that *Polyonymia* of gods and goddesses running all into a theologic mass of confusion. They scarce ever knew how many gods each God was.

"Hermes omnia solus et ter-unus." Martial, lib. V. 24.

THERE was also another cause of this confusion, which arose from that mode of conception in their theology, by which they divided the *Being* or *Essence* of the God, from his *actual presence*. In the combinations of their religious notions they had some separate, I cannot say distinct, idea of the *Numen Dei*, as a different person from the *Deus*. Cicero says of this that it was *divinum quiddam*, but does not explain it. These ideas, in this train of thinking, led naturally and actually to the idea of that still more defined and local presence, a kind of *personal Being* called a *Genius*. Hence the *Genius* of a country, of a nation, or government; the *Genius* of a place; the *Genius* of the house; of the board; of the bed; of the family. This paper needs not to state proofs of this fact; the ancient coins and inscriptions bear sufficient testimony to it.

[g] I. 89.

OF this kind of personal Being I have not been able, from my cursory and superficial reading, to collect any precise and distinct idea. There are indeed on the reverse of coins the image of the Genius of Rome holding a cornucopia. And, in some instances, a serpent, or rather a combination of two serpents are supposed to represent the Numen, or Numina of this Genius. When this idea of the personified presence was applied to gods or to deified persons, it was called the *Numen*, and sometimes, which makes the idea still more inexplicable, in the plural number *Numina*.

“ ——— Orandaque divæ

“ Numina conclamant.” (Virgil, *Æn.* I. 232.)

When it was applied to great and singular, or divine persons, it was, as in the case of Socrates, called the *Dæmon*: and when to a nation or people, or to a local presence, it was termed the *Genius*.

WHATEVER, or whosoever these Trina Numina were to whom at their feasts they made the three Libations, Mercury, that is, the Deity whom the Romans called Mercury, was always one. Plutarch and Macrobius both agree, that this Mercury was the same as the Sun; that Osiris was the sun; that Bacchus or Liber were the same. And in the ancient Greek coins, especially in those of the Rhodians [b], we see there the Sun represented by a *caput pinnatum*, and crowned with the serpentine diadem exactly as we see here, in the ornament of this crystal cup, Mercury represented. Again; Mercury, who is said in the Roman Fasti to be the father of the Lares, is always found with these Gemelli, and with them forms the Trina Numina, which are the Dii Penates, vel Præstites.

“ *Lares, Geniumque ducis, qui tradidit illos,*

“ *Urbs habet; et vici Numina trina colunt.*”

[b] Vide Dr. Hunter's Collection of Coins, especially No. 5. of table XLV.
Mercury,

Mercury, according to these various and indecisive ideas of him, was called by a multitude of names. *Ὡς ἀγαθὸν ἐς ὑπανομίαν πολλὰς ἔχειν, as Aristophanes in his *Plutus* says of Mercury: and Mercury under some of these names was always, as one of the *Dii Penates*, as a Θεὸς μυχιδός, one of the objects to whom the ceremony of the libations was performed.

THE Greeks and Romans observed the custom of drinking a measured quantity, but generally out of a cup which held as many *Cyathi* as there were fixed and appropriated to the particular devotion. For instance, three to the Graces; nine to the Muses; and when one sole person (divine or otherwise) was the toast, or the object to whom the libation was made, then the wine was measured out, or drunk out of a cup of as many *Cyathi* as there were letters in the name. This wants no proof: two or three instances are sufficient to explain it.

“ Nunc mihi dic, quis erit, cui te, Calatiste, *deorum*

“ Sex jubeo Cyathos fundere? Cæsar erit.”

(Martial Epig. IX. 93.)

“ Nævia sex cyathis, septem Justina bibatur,

“ Quinque Lycas, Lyde quatuor, Ida tribus.”

(Idem, I. 71.)

“ Tribus aut novem

“ Miscentur cyathis pocula commodis

“ Qui musas amet impares,

“ Ternos ter cyathos attonitus petet

“ Vates: tres, prohibet supra,

“ Rixarum metuens tangere Gratia.” (Horat. Lib. III. 19)

In the jollity of wine, and in the warmth of their hearts, they would drink draughts of as many *Cyathi* as they wished happy years to their friends.

- "Sole tamen vinoque calent; annosque precantur,
 "Quot fumant cyathos, ad numerumque bibunt.
 "Invenies illic, qui Nestoris ebibat annos."

(Ovid, Fast. L. III. 531.)

I have also read somewhere, but cannot now recollect where, that in their mellow hours, when they mixed love with their wine, they would drink as many Cyathi to their mistress as they wished to beg or to give kisses, of which one may suppose there could be no end, until their last libation to the god of sleep finished them.

"Pauca cupit, qui numerare potest."

For the purposes of this mode of drinking they had *Pocula* of all sizes on the side-board, as far as the *Sextarius*, or twelve *Cyathi*: instances of all which, except the *Semis*, the *Dodrans*, and the *Dextans* are given in the note [i]. 1st, The *Cyathus*

[i] There are instances of drinking less than the *Cyathus* for a draught; of drinking only by the Ounce.

- "Interponis aquam subinde, Rufe,
 "Et, si cogeris a sodali, raram
 "Diluti bibis *Unciam* Falerni." Martial, Lib. I. 106.
 "Sextantes, Caliste, duos infunde Falerni,
 "Tu super æstivas, Alcime, solve nives." Id. Lib. V. 64.
 "Addere quid cessas, puer, immortale Falernum
 "Quadrantem duplicare seniore cado." Id. L. IX. 93.
 "Crebras ergo bibas licet *Trientes*." Id. L. IX. 106.
 "Te, conviva, leget misto *Quincunces*." Id. L. II. 1.
 "Septuncæ multo deinde perditus stertit." Id. L. III. 82.
 "Quincunces, & sex Cyathos, Bessamque bibamus
 "Caius ut fiat Julius & Proculus." Id. L. XI. 36.

Dodrans, that is to say, Deest Quadrans de Sextario—is nine *Cyathi*, or a quarter less than a *Sextarius*.

A Duodecim, unâ demptâ uncia, Deunx. Dextans demptâ sextante.

- "Poto ego Sextantes, tu potas Cinna *Deunces*." Id. L. XII. 28.
 "Misceri sibi protinus *deunces*
 "Sed crebros jubet." Id. L. VI. 78.

itself,

itself, which, in general, was the measuring ladle, when the *Pocula* which they used were not of a defined measure. 2d, The *Sextans* of 2 *Cyathi*. 3d, The *Quadrans* of 3 *Cyathi*. 4h, The *Triens* of 4 *Cyathi*. 5th, The *Quincunx* of 5. The *Semis* of 6. The *Septuas* of 7. The *Bessis* of 8. The *Dodrans* of 9. The *Dextans* of 10. And the *Deunx* of 11.

THE vessel in which they mixed or diluted the wine with water was the *Crater* or larger bowl.

“ *Mensæ remotæ*

“ *Crateras magnos statuunt.*”

Their libations, however, were not usually made out of these: they performed this ceremony, especially when with mere or unmixed wine, in a *Patera* of a proper size,

“ *Hic Regina gravem gemmis, auroque poposcit,*

“ *Implevitque mero Pateram.*” (Virg. *Æn. Lib. I. v. 732.*)

Or in a *Poculum* containing as many *Cyathi* as the ceremony required.

WE have seen above, that the *Poculum* was to contain as many *Cyathi* as were equal to the number of the letters in the name of the god to whom the libation was made. The ceremony, when the libation was made with mere wine, was performed by this Cup being handed round to each guest who partook in the sacred service. The decent and ordinary method was that of only tasting the wine, and touching the cup with the lips----as Dido did----yet there have always been some at the table, who would act like Bitias,

“ ——— ille impiger hausit

“ *Spumantem Pateram, et pleno se prouit auro.*”

IF I may flatter myself that the statement which this paper has made of the ceremony of the libations at the convivial feasts; of the objects to whom they were made on these occasions; and of the mode of toasting (as we English call it) their friends
and

and mistresses, meets with the approbation of the gentlemen here assembled; I will proceed next to examine the Cup on the ground of these ideas.

FIRST; it contains, according to an exact measurement made of it by the reverend and very ingenious [k] the late Doctor Thompson, 5657 grains, Troy weight.

SECONDLY; it has a kind of spout so formed as a lip to the Cup, that the liquor, when poured out, ran between this lip and the circumference of the edge of the Cup, in a manner suited to the performing a libation, but not applicable to the act of drinking out of it.

This lip is a *Caput Pinnatum* crowned with a *serpentine diadem*, having a young, unbearded countenance, of an open and chearful, but firm and steady aspect. I desire it may be particularly observed, that this is no *caput anguicomum*; this does not exhibit *crinita draconibus ora*. The hair and locks remain in their natural state. Here is no *gorgonius crinis* changed into *turpes hydros*. This is no head of a Gorgon, no Medusa. It is the head of some Being *Φαιδρός τὰς ὕψεις*, as is said of Mercury. It is incircled with that sacred diadem which the Ægyptians, and those who followed their theology, applied as a crown to the heads of their gods. Horapollo, in his hieroglyphics particularly describes this diadem [l]. “The Ægyptians, says he, forming into a circle a *Golden Serpent*, of that kind which they call in their language OUB, and

[k] Private tutor to Lord Duncannon. A gentleman whose merits in literature, though above the common scale, bore but a small proportion to those virtues for which his patron honoured him.

[l] Ὅφιν ὃν καλεῖσιν Αἰγύπτιοι Οὐδαῖον*, ὃ ἔστιν ἑλληνικῇ βασιλίσκον, χρυσῶν ποιήντες Θεῷ περιθέουσιν. Ὅθεν ἰπειρὴ δοκεῖ ζωῆς καὶ θανάτου κυριεύειν, διὰ τὸ αὐτὸν τῆς κεφαλῆς τῶν Θεῶν ὑποθέουσιν. Horapollo, Lib. I. c. 1.

* I here follow John Mercier's amendment from the reading in Morell's MS.

“ which, in Greek, is *Basilisk*, crowned their gods with it.
 “ As this species of serpent seems endued with the power of
 “ life and death, it became a proper symbol to be placed as a
 “ diadem on the heads of their gods.”

THIS symbolic diadem as described by Horapollo, and as seen on the coins of some nations, who borrowed their theology from Ægypt, particularly on some Rhodian coins; as also on various gems, on that particularly in the cabinet of count Caylus, and that very fine one in the duke of Marlborough's collection, hath given occasion to the classing (I think too hastily, and too decidedly) the heads so crowned with those of the Gorgons and Medusa [m]. This symbolic diadem is an [n] adscititious ornament, an ornament which [o] encircles the head and hair, as annexed to, and no part of it. The hair remains, as I said, in its natural state, and this diadem, as adventitious, is distinct and distinguishable from it. The head of the Gorgon, or Medusa, was *crinita draconibus ora*. The hairs were *anguicomæ*, where every hair, or at least every lock of hair (parts of the head) was, as described both by poets and artists, a serpent. These *crines anguicomæ*, these *turpes hydri* of the Gorgons were [p], in being thus transformed from the most beautiful hair, marks of punishment inflicted by divine vengeance, *not adscititious marks of honour* with which, as in this case, the head was crowned. The connoisseurs, and Cicero, however, either not knowing of, or not adverting to, the nature of this *serpentine diadem*, but taking things superficially, in the lump, without marking the evident distinction between the *cri-*

[m] I venture to assert this, although Mr. Bryant has called it a Medusa, and exhibits it in his Mythology as such.

[n] Τηλοθήκη.

[o] Περιθήκη.

[p] Vide Ovidii Metamorph. Lib. IV.

nita draconibus era, and the *caput cui εἰς αἰῶνες χεῖρας περιεσῆται*, have (I repeat it) hastily, and too decidedly, wherever they saw a snake, or two snakes on the head, called that head the head of Medusa. Under this general appellation all the antique heads, whether they be those *erinibus anguicomis*, or those crowned with this *divine serpentine diadem*, are in the published collections of Gems &c. called Medusæ. From these the Amateurs have without examination, as learners generally do, taken up the undistinguishing idea. This is a matter so universally settled, that my opinion, which thus presumes to differ from them, must expect to be rejected with supercilious contempt. However, as this is not a matter of *real theology*, I shall venture to become and remain an Heretic, until converted by better arguments than authority. I find myself encouraged in this by those discoveries which are daily made upon later and more attentive examination of the erroneous descriptions which have been given of the antique remains of Greece and Rome.

THERE is a yet further propriety in the head of this ornament on this crystal cup being crowned with this serpentine diadem, as here in the form of a caduceus, which this paper will explain. It will be first necessary to settle the nature of the other part of the ornament, the *pinnæ*, or wings annexed to the head. Wings annexed to a globe, or circle, signified velocity and activity in the body thereby represented, as in the sun, for instance: annexed to the human head they as it were deified that head, and became a symbol of divine intelligence. Hence the *caput pinnatum* of the Rhodians, representing their patron God Apollo, or the sun: hence also is it that the head of the Roman Mercury, whom Macrobius clearly proves to have been no other than the Deity Sol of other nations, was adorned "*pinnatis alis, quæ res monstrat solis velocitatem*. Quia mentis potentem Mercurium credimus, appellatumque ita intelligimus,

" ἀπὸ

“ ἀπὸ τῆ ἑρμενεύειν, et sol mundi mens est, summa autem *velo-*
citas mentis, ut ait Homerus—ὥστε Πτερὸν ἢ νύημα, ideo pinnis
 “ Mercurius, *quasi ipsa natura solis*, ornatur. Hoc argumentum
 “ Ægyptii lucidius absolvunt ipsius solis simulacra pinnata fin-
 “ gentes.”

COMBINING now the reasonings and facts above stated and referred to, I will trust that this paper will not be thought pre-
 sumptuous in concluding, that these symbolic heads, adorned
 with the sacred serpentine diadem, and with the Pinnæ, while
 the hair of those heads remains in its natural state, are not the
 heads of Gorgons, nor of Medusa in particular; but that, on
 the contrary, they are symbolic of the sun in general; and, in
 the Roman liturgy, of Mercury, who in his mystic nature was
 no other than the sun. And that the head engraved on the
 ornament, or lip of this crystal cup, is the precise symbol of
 Mercury under that manifestation.

As I said above, that, besides the propriety of this general
 symbol, there is a peculiar propriety in the serpentine ornament
 on this cup, as it is in the form of the *caduceus*; I will now
 proceed to the explanation of that point. That *personal pre-*
sence of the Deity, expressed by *Namen* and *Genius*, as above
 described, was supposed to take generally the form of a serpent.
 I will, instead of loading the text, refer to the margin [q] for
 various accounts of this. Under this idea of the matter, Virgil
 represents Æneas, upon a serpent creeping forth from the tomb
 of Anchises, as uncertain, whether to consider it as the *Genius*

[q] Εἶσι δὲ περὶ Θέας ἱστοί οἷες ἀνθρώπων εὐδαμῶς δηλήμονες, οἱ μεγάλοι μικροὶ
 ἄνθρωποι, οὗτοι κέρτα φορέουσι πεφύκετα ἐξ ἄκρης τῆς κεφαλῆς: τοῖς ἀποθανόντας θάπτουσι ἐν
 τῇ ἱερᾷ τῇ Διός. Herodot. lib. II. c. 74.

Λέγουσι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι Ὅφιν μέγα Φύλακα τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως. Id. lib. VIII. c. 41.

Angues apud Gentiles pro Geniis Locorum erant habiti semper. Isidorus XII. 4.

Loci, or the *Famulus Parentis*, that is, the *Numen tutelare parentale*.

“ *Incertus geniumne loci, famulumne parentis*

“ *Esse putet.*” Virgil. *Æneid.* l. V. v. 95.

IN like manner, the two serpents which destroyed Laocoon, and afterwards withdrew to the arx or temple of Minerva, are by Virgil called the *Numina Divæ*. From this idea arose the custom of affixing the pictures or images of two serpents on any holy place, as the visible symbol of its consecrated nature. *Pinge duos angues*, says Persius, as marking the consecration of a place. The fixing this symbol upon a patera, or cup, marked it as an holy vessel, consecrated to some religious ceremony. Martial, in describing the Patera of Ammianus, gives us an instance of this; and in a manner that is relevant, directly in proof to the point endeavoured to be explained on the subject of this paper.

“ *Cælatus tibi, cum sit, Ammiane,*

“ *Serpens in Paterâ, Myronis arte;*

“ *Vaticana bibis.*” Lib. VI. Ep. 92.

“ Although your Patera, by the ornament of the symbolic serpent, is consecrated to sacred purposes as a vessel of honour; “ yet you drink the vilest common market stuff out of it.” The two [r] mystic serpents on the staff of office born by Mercury, marked it as the sacred ensign, not of a common messenger or ambassador, but as the ensign of a divine officer, “ *qui intra* “ *superos et inferos Deos administer æstimatur.*” And finally, it is a singular fact, which comes home to the argument of

[r] In Mercurio solem etiam coli ex caduceo claret, quod Ægyptii, in specie dædonum unaris et feminæ conjunctorum, figuraverunt Mercurio consecrandum.

Macrobius, Saturn, lib. I. c. 19.

this paper, that the [s] two serpents on this caduceus, are by Timæus, as quoted by Dionysius Halicarnassensis, in a manner coincident with what Macrobius says of them, represented as being the symbols, secret and indescribable, of the *Dii Penates*, and the *Dii Præfites*, about the nature of whom there was a sacred [t] mystery and religious secrecy.

WE have observed that, amongst the three libations made at the convivial banquets, Mercury, who was Sol, Liber, Bacchus, &c. under some of his appellations, of which he had many [u], or in some of his Numina, of which, when joined with the Lares, that of the Penates was always one.

WE have seen that the *Caput Pinnatum*, in the Roman Liturgy, was the symbol of Mercury. We have seen that the two serpents, in the form of the caduceus, were the symbol of the two Lares: the sacred symbolic head of Mercury therefore, crowned with the serpentine diadem in the form of the caduceus, as on this Crystal Cup, the subject of this paper, gives *the precise symbol of the Dii Penates*, of the *Trina Numina*, to whom

[s] Σχήματος δὲ καὶ μορφῆς αὐτῶν περὶ Τίμαιος μὲν ὁ συγγραφεὺς ὡς ἀποφαίνεται Κηρυκία σιδερά καὶ χαλκᾷ καὶ κίραμον Τρωϊκὸν εἶναι, τὰ ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἐν Λακωνίᾳ κείμενα ἔρα. Dionys. Halicarn. l. c. 67. p. 53. edit. Hudf.

Argumentum Caducei, ad genituram quoque hominum, quæ Genefis appellatur, Ægyptii portendunt *Deos Præfites*, homini nascenti quatuor adesse memores, Δαίμονα, Τύχην, Ἑρῴα, Ἀνάγκην; et Duo priores *Solem et Lunam* intelligi volunt, quod Sol auctor Spiritus, Caloris, et Luminis, humanæ vitæ Genitor et Custos est; et ideo nascentis *Dæmon* Deus creditur: Luna Τύχη, qui corporum præful est, quæ fortuitorum varietate jactantur: Amor osculo significatur; Necessitas nodo. Macrobius, Saturn. lib. l. c. 19.

[t] Ἐγὼ δὲ ὅσα μὲν ὄραν ἅπαντιν ἡ Θέμις, ὅτε παρὰ τῶν ὀρόντων αἰκείν, πρὸ ἂν ἐπιγράψιν οἶμαι δεῖν. Dionys. Hal. Ibid.

[u] Ὡς ἄγαθον εἰς ὑπνωσιᾶς πολλὰς ἔχειν. said of Mercury in the Plutus of Aristophanes.

the ancient Romans made their domestic convivial and other religious libations.

ONE matter only remains. If this Cup was consecrated to *Mercury in this manifestation of his Deity*, and if we take the name *Mercurius* in the nominative case, or if *Penatibus* in the oblique dative case, the Cup should hold nine *Cyatbi*, reckoned by ounces and grains of the scale. It ought to hold a quantity, which should weigh nine times 730 grains, or 6570 grains; whereas the Cup holds but 5657 grains, measure by weight. This is an observation which Dr. Thompson made as an objection against its being a *Dodrans*, which it should be in the case above supposed. This objection does not hold, for although there was in the original institution, in right and theory, no difference between the statical and metrical pound and ounce, or the measure by which liquids were measured out; yet, in practice and fact, fraud and abuse had reduced the metrical ounce to be nearly one sixth less than the statical one. This the reverend, the learned, and very ingenious Mr. Clarke [x] hath shown in his explanation of the passage in Galen, where the physician cautions his patients to distinguish, in taking liquid medicines prescribed, whether they measured by the metrical or statical ounce, *πότερον τὰς σταθμίκας, ἢ τὰς μετρικὰς*. Deducting, according to this matter of fact, one sixth, or 1095 from 6570 (the *Dodrans* of the scale) the result is 5475 grains (the metrical *Dodrans*), which is but 180 grains less than this cup contains, according to Dr. Thompson's measurement. As one may guess that they were not such *scrupulous* measurers at a banquet, as a physician would require in giving physic, we may fairly call this Cup a *Dodrans*.

If the gentlemen, however, as the opinion started may appear novel, are so *scrupulous*, let them take the matter in ano-

[x] In his *Connexion of Roman, Saxon, and English Coins*, chap. III.

ther view, and by another measurement. As in inscriptions dedicatory, so in libations, the name was used in the oblique dative case. Take the word *Mercurio*, and there are but eight letters. In this case the Cup ought to be a *Beffis* or Cup of eight Cyathi. It is so by the statical pound or ounce; within a trifle. It remains therefore to shew, that in these cases the name was sometimes referred to in the oblique case. I shall refer to Martial, who gives direct and positive testimony to this point:

“ Det numerum Cyathis, Instanti litera Rufi

“ Auctor enim tanti muneris ille mihi.

“ Si Telethusa venit, promissaque gaudia portat,

“ Servabor Dominae, Rufe, triente tuo;

“ Si dubia est *Septunce* trahar; si fallit amantem

“ Ut jugulem curas, nomen utrumque bibam.”

(Lib. VIII. Ep. 51.)

It must be here observed, that the name Rufus has five letters; if then as a toast it was named in the nominative case, the Cup in which it should have been drank must have been a *Quincunx*: but it is drunk to in the oblique case, either the dative *Ruso*, or the appellative *Rufe*, having but four letters, and is therefore drank in a *Triens*, a Cup of four Cyathi. Martial here says, that if his Mistress was doubtful about coming, he would indulge himself the more in drinking, and naming Rufus by his other name *Instans*, which is here the appellative, and having seven letters, *septunce trahar*. If she did not come at all, but disappointed him, then, to choak all care, he would drink both names, *hoc est* (says the commentary) *undecim cyathos*, seu *Deuncem*.

THE *formulary* observed in the ceremony of a libation was, *Libo Jovi, vel Mercurio, vel alicui alio Deo*. One instance is sufficient. Tacitus in his Annals, Lib. XV. c. 64, giving an account

count of the death of Seneca, when he entered the bath, says,
 “ Postremo stagnum calidae aquae introiit; respergens proximos
 “ fervorum, addita voce, Libare se liquorem illum *Jovi Libe-*
 “ *ratori.*” Cicero also uses the expression, “ Libare nomini
 “ tuo.”

HAVING now shewn that the ancients at their convivial feasts
 used the ceremony of making libations to the presiding Gods,
 and particularly to three, of which Mercury, in the manifesta-
 tion of his Deity, or a Deus Penas, or *Θεός μύχιος*, was always
 one; that the ornament forming the lip of this crystal cup is a
 symbolic head of Mercury in that manifestation; that the cup
 is of a capacity suited to that ceremony; I will venture to
 conclude this paper, by an opinion, That this sort of Cup was
 one of the ancient Pocula appropriated to the ceremony of the
 libation, and particularly consecrated to that made to Mercury,
 and the two Lares, as the Trina Numina; to the Dii Pe-
 nates: That therefore this Crystal Cup, if antique, is one of the
 most curious and most valuable pieces of antiquity that is at this
 time existing in Europe.

XXII. *Account of Antiquities discovered in the Neighbourhood of Bagshot, in July 1783.*

In a Letter addressed to the late President, the Dean of Exeter.

Read January 29, 1784.

REVEREND SIR,

THE following account of some late discovered antiquities I take the liberty of laying before you, as the properest person to communicate it to the honourable Society of which you are president, should you think it of consequence sufficient to entitle it to their notice. The drawing that accompanies it you will examine with an eye of candour, when I inform you it is the produce of untaught abilities.

I have the honour to subscribe myself, with due respect,

Reverend Sir,

Hurst, Berks,
Dec. 27, 1783.

Your most obedient servant,

TALBOT BLAYNEY HANDASYD.

ABOUT a quarter of a mile from Bagshot Park, and nearly the same distance from the cross-road which leads from Bagshot to Bracknell, or as it is otherwise called *Brack-knowl*, and *Bracken-bill*, is a small farm, containing about thirty-five acres,

acres, named the *Roundabout*. It lies on the south side of a gentle slope, which rises from a valley called *Heathly Bottom*, surrounded with lofty hills covered with heath, which afford pasture to our much esteemed Bagshot mutton. This farm is the property of Mr. Rapley, a very civil farmer, who lives on it. He informed me, that about one hundred and seventy years since it was enclosed by his ancestors, being before that time a part of the heath. Mr. Rapley does not know of any older appellation for it than the present, nor have the neighbourhood any traditionary accounts of its former cultivation or inhabitants; yet the first time I visited it I plainly discerned that it bore the marks of Roman industry. In one corner of the farm was a small spot of ground enclosed with a vallum, and a deep foss without it. The dimensions will be best described by Mr. Rapley's own words, when I made an enquiry concerning it. "It was deep enough, Sir," said he, "to take in a road "waggon, tilt and all!" The ground being totally unfit for cultivation in that state, and greatly overgrown with thorns and briars, he filled up the foss, by throwing down the vallum, and ploughed it up. This was done about the year 1773, yet nothing was then discovered. Since that period it has not been ploughed till last summer, when the boy who drove the team observing a hole, thrust his hand into it, and finding it was an earthen vessel called his master, who came, and dug it out, but he expecting to discover more, and being desirous not to lose time, set the plough to double the usual depth, when numbers of vessels were turned up at almost every furrow. The devastation made among them by this expeditious method, may be easily conceived; few were whole, and almost as few retained sufficient traces of their form to enable any one to judge of their original shapes or uses: yet the shattered remnants convinced me that they might have afforded great delight to the antiquary,

Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.



Fig. 5.



Fig. 6.



Fig. 7.



Fig. 8.



Fig. 9.



Fig. 10.



Fig. 11.



J. D. Horsfield del.

Roman Antiquities from Bagshot heath.

quary. There could not have been less than fifty, of one kind or other. I collected such as I thought most curious, and could not but notice the contemptuous looks of the farmer's servants at my extraordinary caution in packing them up; for till exposed to the sun and air for some time, they would scarce bear the slightest touch, and some were so mutilated, that it took up a considerable time to bring their fragments to bear any resemblance to their first form. The most remarkable I have endeavoured to represent in the annexed drawing. They are as follows:

FIGURE 1, part of an urn, of brownish clay, slightly ornamented with network, and capable of holding near a gallon. It was entire when found, was standing upright, and had its mouth covered with a coarse red patera; I carefully examined its contents, which were an incredible quantity of fragments of bones, charcoal, some bits of corroded brass, part of a ring of the same metal, some pieces of iron with square tubular perforations, a bit of a brass pin, and some half burnt thorn bushes; the head of one bone was perfect, but being too roughly handled crumbled away. I thought it remarkable that though many of the softer parts of the bones remained perfect and sound, there should not be the least appearance of the teeth.

FIG. 2, is a vessel of hard whitish stone-ware, which is large enough to hold two quarts.

FIG. 3, is a small but well shaped vessel of coarse red earth, and will contain about half a pint.

FIG. 4, a patera of the admired coral coloured Roman ware. It is six inches in diameter, and half an inch deep.

FIG. 5, exhibits the remains of a small vessel of the same fine ware; it is two inches $\frac{1}{2}$ wide, and $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch deep.

FIG. 6, is the half of a patera of the same elegant composition; the section of it serves to give some faint idea of the exquisite beauty of the Roman workmanship.

FIG. 7, is a fragment of white earthen ware, about the size of a tea cup, and seems to have had one or more handles, and is most beautifully ornamented.

FIG. 8, a blue glass bead of that sort which Camden, Borlase, and other antiquaries describe under the name of *glain neidr*, or snake stones.

FIG. 9 and 10, are different views of the same vessel, which is of the fine red earth, and has an ornamented border; it is three inches and an half wide, and $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch deep.

FIG. 11, is of a different form, but of the same materials; it is five inches and an half in diameter, and one and an half deep.

EXCLUSIVE of these which (except the bead) are all in my possession, I have at different times brought away a vast number of fragments of various kinds and forms.

I SHOULD have remarked that fig. 11 has had a name impressed in relief on the inside, but not intelligible at present. One fragment has (in the same manner) OFRUP in Roman capitals, but the abbreviation of *officina* is not separated from the name. A very small piece, of the fine red earth, was closely perforated with small holes, like the top of a pepper-box, but this I unluckily lost. Mr. Rapley informed me that where they found an urn, they were sure to find some small vessels, and in some places were three of different sizes one in the other.

ABOUT a mile and a half from hence, is a small tumulus, which I opened, but discovered nothing within it. About four miles from the farm, at the extremity of a long range of hills, is situated a large camp, known by the name of *Cæsar's Camp*,
which

which is but slightly noticed by doctor Stukeley, nor is any particular mention made of it in any account I have hitherto seen. In it is an hollow, which has a thick layer of coarse gravel all round it, and seems to have been made to contain rain water. At not half a mile from the camp stand a vast number of thorn bushes, some of a very large size (known by the name of *Wickham Bushes*) bearing on their ragged branches and large contorted stems evident marks of extreme age, yet in all probability these are but the successors of a race long since extinct. The inhabitants of the neighbourhood have a tradition that here formerly stood a town, but that Julius Cæsar, whom they magnify to a giant (for stories lose nothing by telling) with his associates laying the country waste, the poor inhabitants were obliged to fly, and seek an asylum in the valley beneath. The name, the place, and the appearance, all together leading me to believe there was some foundation for the report, I resolved to search more narrowly into the probability of it, and taking a labourer with me proceeded to dig in different parts of the spot known by the name of "*the Bushes*." The first place we chose for this purpose, afforded an almost incredible quantity, as well as variety of kinds of pottery, shards of brick and tile, which the form evidently bespoke Roman, with masses of cinders not dissimilar to those of a forge. In the course of several repeated visits, I at last met with a regular but coarse brick floor, at the depth of eighteen inches beneath the surface. On the natural soil was placed a layer of flints, then a layer of sand, and on this the brick floor was laid. One whole brick with an amazing variety of small pieces of pottery I collected and carried home; some ornamented with network, some with neat borders, some ribbed horizontally; in short almost as many kinds as specimens. I am confident that one man's labour brought to

light, in two days, as many as three or four common wheelbarrow loads. I have made trials in at least twenty separate spots, and though few are equally fertile in remains with the first, yet scarce one attempt failed to produce something in support of the tradition of its having been formerly a station: indeed the subsequent discoveries which have been made, put the matter beyond doubt. I omitted to mention that the camp is not of any regular form, but answers the shape of the hill, and may contain between thirty and forty acres. It bears North by East from the Bushes. The lateness of the season and shortness of days have prevented me from attempting any farther discoveries.

XXIII. Description of a Roman Hypocaust discovered near Brecknock. In a Letter from Mr. Charles Hay to John Morgan, Esq. of Therrow at Tredegar.

Read March 4, 1784.

DEAR SIR,

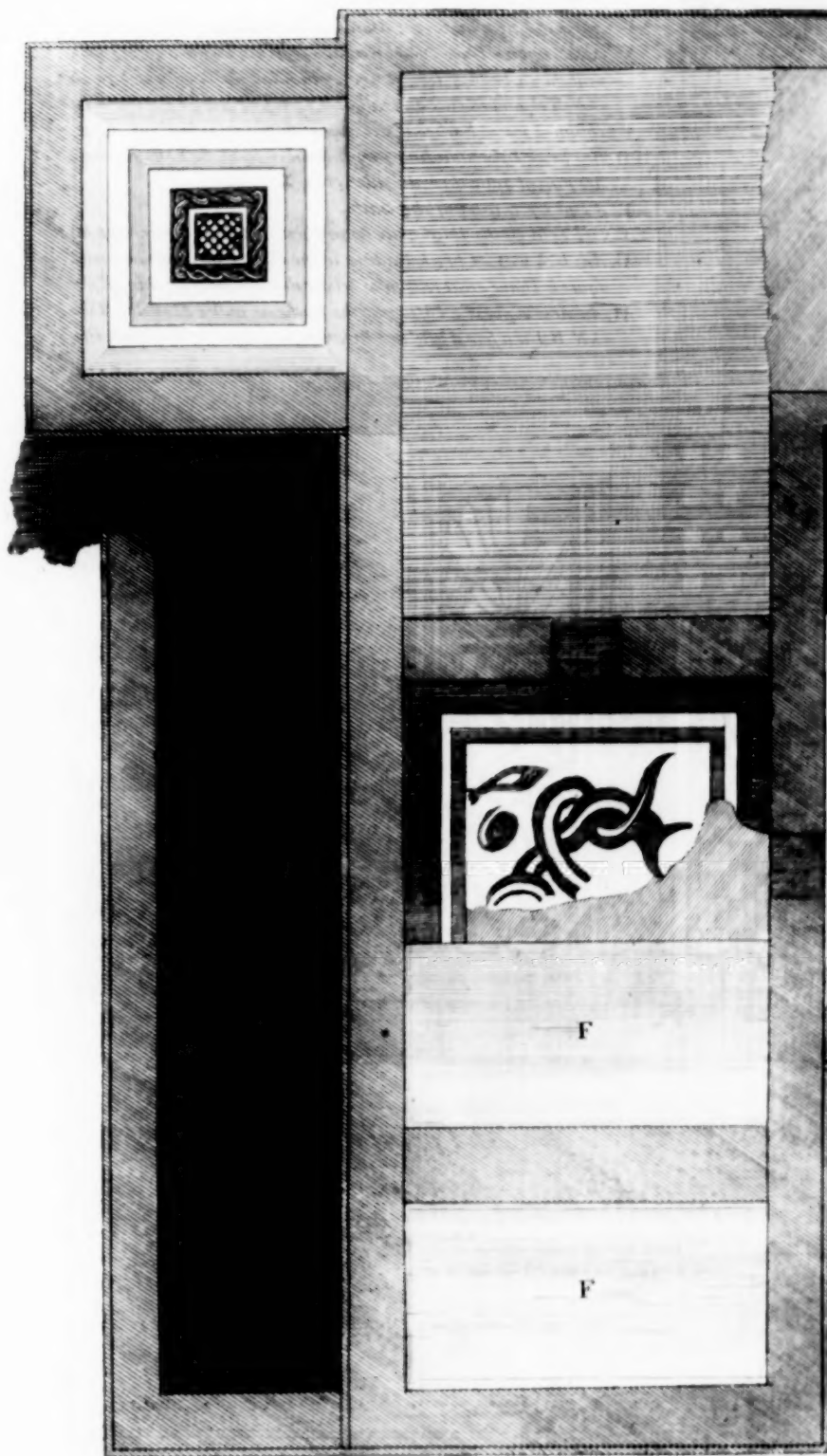
KNOWING your desire not only for finding out, but preserving every antiquity in South Wales (instance that beautiful tessellated pavement at Caerwent), I beg leave to inform you of a discovery made near this place.

JEFFREY WILKINS, Esq; having lately purchased an estate two miles south east of Brecknock, in the parish of Llanfrynach, in the month of October last (1783), ordered the corner of one of the fields overgrown with trees and brushwood to be cleared. His labourers in carelessly falling an ash tree of about a ton weight, the roots tearing up the earth, discovered to their view some small pillars, three foot three inches high, built with brick tile of seven inches square, and one inch thick; the space between the pillars being then filled up with seemingly bits of square stones, &c. they took it to be an old bloomery for smelting of iron, as in the adjoining field some years ago a quantity of iron cinders were gathered, and smelted to advantage at Mr. Mawbery's forge at Brecon, so they were careless in preserving the work. Immediately upon Mr. Wilkins shewing me a piece of
the

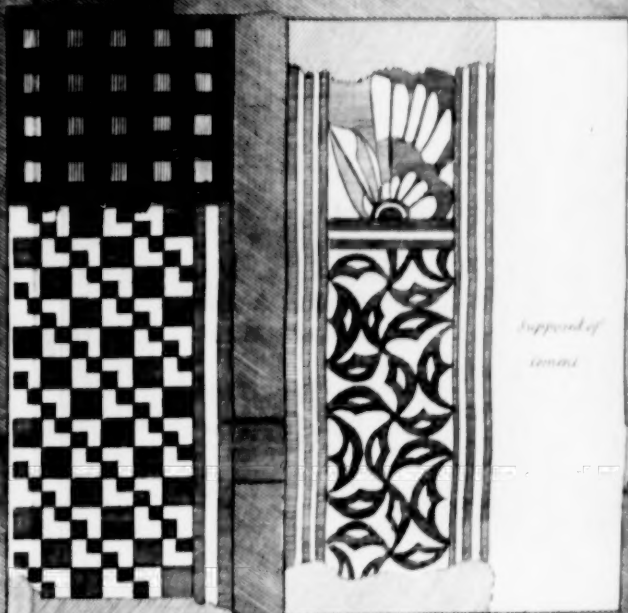
the brick tile, and what they called square bits of stones, I pronounced it a Roman work; begging of him to make his men only clear and trace the outside wall (upon which it seems the ash tree grew), without touching the surface of the rough ground within; and in a short time they cleared foundation walls, a plan of which I herewith send you, though rough and unfinished. I chose a large scale, that I might in some manner draw the tessellated pavement, or whatever else appeared.

FINDING at the east end of the building, a regular built entry leading to pillars the same that were beat down on the north side, soon proved they joined, forming a square angle; which not only supported a floor of cement, but, the bottom of the bath marked C. In this passage was found a bar of malleable iron, four feet long, and six inches square, and so soft as to be marked by a stroke from a hammer. The bath is seven feet four inches, by five feet one inch; the cement with which it is lined is worth notice, being two inches and an half thick, and seemingly made of lime and pounded brick; the inside and last coat is very thin, and still bears a polish like marble. It is about four feet deep, and two deep steps, the one two feet the other sixteen inches still remain. All the inside angles are filled up with the same cement, two inches by one and a half, and rounded towards the bath. In the walls on the east and west sides of this bath is a square brick pipe four inches by four and a half inches in the clear; and in some places are openings thus X quite through the side of the pipe. They are set up perpendicular. At the south east corner of the bath at the bottom is a small arched aperture for letting out the water.

Along the side of the pillars just under the floor on that side where this bath is lie brick pipes, but not so large as the perpendicular ones in the walls; and on the ground are regular openings, by which you can reach under the bottom of the
bath




- A Place where an Arch was raised over the
 ranges of brick Pillars, the space between
 the ancient Plan of a Roman Bath.
- B Another Entry under the Mosaic Pavement
 inches square. These Pillars were about six
 and then a body of cement upon which lay
 N B A square Piece of malleable Iron p.
- C Plank a warm Bath four feet deep with a
 D D Two brick Pipes standing perpendicular
 are pierced quite thro the sides thus X
- E A Pipe for emptying the Bath
- F F Two Cold Baths lined with cement four p
 square K I have great reason to believe that
- H An Area supposed a Passage to the Baths a
 N B The coloured upland Pavement was



Ground Plan
 upon Pny-Pubis Farm near
 the Property of
 Howard's House upon the Sp

bath with a stick; but the distance between the pillars (and those on the north side were closer, and not above two feet high,) being only sixteen inches, and not in regular rows, I cannot even creep in so as to enable me to draw that under ground plan. The dark shades in the plan shew the two entries, and were filled with pillars; but the roof (or floor) being now destroyed, it appears as in the plan; though I have absurdly marked the foundation of some, where the openings towards the bath on the ground are, on purpose to give you some idea of them. The foundation of all the pillars seems as if laid on the natural ground; but the tops of the pillars are capped with tiles with edges downward, which form not only a sort of capital to the pillar, but finish to the ceiling as if forming arches between the pillars. These tiles are from six to nine inches *in the flat* broad, and the ledge is three fourths of an inch deep. Though some of the tubes are visibly stained with smoke, yet I think not enough if they warmed the bath by it; nor are the pillars discoloured with smoke. The two other baths marked A and B were no doubt cold baths, the inside cement of which is mostly destroyed by clearing out the rubbish. The floor of the whole building was certainly never designed to be a dead level, as there appears inclined planes of blue tessellated pavement, as passages from one apartment to another; and I believe the whole floor was covered with pavement, though all of it is of a coarse blue, and dirty white of an inch square, except that coloured in the plan, which is thirty-five inches square, very perfect, and of half inch dyes; the border the same as some formerly at Caerwent, but the figure of the pattern in the center shows little or no design. I am afraid this will not remain long, being very near the surface, and exposed to the weather, and few go to see it but carry away some of it.

VARIOUS are the marks upon the brick tiles, such as  as if ribbed, but I can find none with letters of any sort, and no bricks. Many pieces of compost as if to build with are found; and upon one small piece is a curious impression of a leaf, about the size and shape of the beech, and every fibre is as minutely impressed, as those taken off with ink: the fair impression of a dog's foot is upon another found amongst the pillars; and on a third is that of a bullock's foot. Several large horns of stags have also been found in and near the bath, but only two coins; the one a small silver piece having a female bust on one side, round it IVLIA AVGVSTA, on the reverse a female sitting in a chair, her right hand across her breast, her veil hanging over the back of the chair from her head, and her left foot extended bare; round it PVDICITIA; this is in good preservation, and found near the bath. The other is a small copper coin, with two whole length figures standing together in a Roman dress; on one side letters are visible, but I can make nothing of them; on the reverse, time, and what they call the *valuable green rust*, puts it out of my power to say what it is, though it has some appearance of a bust. They also found what seems to have been part of some instrument, being well finished, of a compound metal, in the shape of the mouth of a tea spoon, and much about the size, having at one end a crane neck turn, and then a round pivot; at the other end it appears as if something was broken off.



ABOUT eighty feet from this building towards the south, and where the ground rises suddenly, is also cleared, the foundation of another building as marked, though not properly laid down in the plan; but this is very imperfect, as some years ago it is known

known stones were carried from this place to build houses and walls within the neighbourhood. It is remarkable two *human skulls* only were found lying in the inside of this wall, and close to it; and not above eighteen inches from the surface; but by their appearance they must have been of late date.

By the hedge which now runs close by this foundation wall there plainly appears an old water course, and that they conveyed the water to the bath from springs at a mile distance, though a very large brook called *Munhafeyn*, which comes immediately from the mountain, runs north, and close by the field where the bath is, which is now a meadow, and where the foundations of buildings may still be easily traced by the eye, and where there was lately a mill for grinding of corn. This brook falls into the Usk, below the village of Llanfrynaeth.

THIS whole farm lies on the south of the river Usk, and is about a mile distance from it. It is called in Welch *Pen y pentry*, in English *the head of the village*. The field where the bath stands is called *Carnney Bach*, of four acres and a half. That now parted from it by a slight hedge towards the brook is called *Gwayn yr bendy*, of three acres and a half; and that where the cinders were taken from is called *Clofe y Gaveilion*, of nine acres and a half. This is taken from a survey of the year 1761. It is situated at a little farther distance from the town of Brecon South East. The well known camp at *The Gaer* is South West of Brecon, and not a great way from the Roman stone bearing the word *Victorinus*.

IN two fields upon the same farm of Mr. Wilkins are seemingly artificial mounts of earth, covered with trees and underwoods, which he says he may perhaps examine when he has finished some more necessary work upon the farm. But seeing

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the building at the bath of such extent, and so defaced, he believes he shall level and plough up the whole field, when I am certain there will appear many more foundations of buildings at least.

If all this can tempt you to come and see it, before that is done, I shall be happy in attending you there. Mean time believe me with great sincerity.

Dear Sir,

Your most obliged and obedient servant,

CHARLES HAY.

XXIV. *Observations on the Chariots of the antient Britains. By the Rev. Mr. Pegge. In a Letter to the Rev. Mr. Norris.*

Read April 14, 1784.

DEAR SIR,

BESIDES the common mistake of the annalists and historians in regard to this passage in Juvenal,

Regem aliquem capies, aut de temone Britanno

Excidet Arviragus —

Juvenal IV. 126.

By taking *Arviragus* for the proper name of a person, and not of an officer [a]; the words of the satyrist are memorable in another respect, as serving to inform us, by the word *temone*, of a singular mode of fighting amongst the *Britons*; as if by leaving his carriage, and running upon the pole, the combatant from thence, or from the yoke, engaged the enemy, as long as he thought prudent and convenient, and then retreated back into the body of the vehicle. And this indeed appears to be the fact, this method of engaging being expressly described in *Cæsar's* Commentaries, lib. IV. c. 29. where the words are, “ac tantum usu quotidiano et exercitatione efficiunt, ut in declivi ac

[a] Essay on the Coins of Cunobelin, p. 57.

“ præcipiti loco incitatos equos sustinere, et brevi moderari ac
 “ flectere, et *per temonem percurrere, et in iugo insistere, et inde*
 “ *se in currus citissimè recipere consueverint.*” The two pas-
 sages of the poet and the historian very remarkably illustrate
 one another.

It appears then from this state of things, that the *essedæ* of
 the *Britons* and *Gauls* must have been formed very low in the
 fore part, and not at all like what the bodies of the chariots of
 the ancients are represented to have been. Mr. Pownall says,
 “ the front of the body was made breast high, and rounded like
 “ a shield, so as to answer to the driver the purpose of that
 “ defence, and was for that reason called ἀσπίδισκη, or the *shield*
 “ *part*. The sides of the chariot sloped away backwards almost
 “ to the bottom, or floor of the body, but differently, and by
 “ various lines in different bodies [b].” Now it is impossible
 this should be the figure of the body of the *British essedæ*, and
 therefore, with all due deference to the gentleman's opinion, a
 distinction should be made between the military chariots used
 at *Troy*, or in *Greece*, or elsewhere, and those employed by our
Britons, which must of necessity have been of a very different
 figure.

In regard to the warrior's running on the pole, it is no ob-
 jection with me that the body of the carriage in the East was
 low, even as low as Mr. Pownall represents it [c], because the
 construction here in *Britain* might be materially different in
 that respect from that used anciently there, and 2dly, that
 though this island abounded in those times with horses, so that
 they were an article of commerce and exportation in the opi-
 nion of Dr. Musgrave [d], yet there is all the reason in the

[b] Pownall, Treatise on the Study of Antiquities, p. 251.

[c] Ibid.

[d] Dr. Musgrave's Works, vol. I. p. 168.

world to believe, they were then but of a diminutive size, the breed being afterwards greatly improved by our intercourse with the continent. I am fully persuaded, for these reasons, that with a small elevation in the vehicle, and with horses of a low measurement, a combatant might traverse the pole of his carriage, forwards and backwards, *almost* upon a level.

I am, Sir,

your truly affectionate

and most obedient,

SAMUEL PEGGE.

XXV. *Remarks on some antient Musfical Instruments mentioned in Le Roman de la Rose. By the Rev. John Bowle, F. A. S. In a Letter to the Honourable Daines Barrington.*

Read December 4, 1783.

ON reading over the old French poem of the ROMAN DE LA ROSE I was struck with various particulars, that appeared to ascertain some of your sentiments [a]. The regal or portable organ is exactly described.

“ Orgues avoit bien maniables

“ A une maine portables,

“ Ou il mesmes et souffle et touche

“ Et chante haulte a plaine bouche

“ Mottez à contre et a teneure.” V. 21955.

THAT the pib-corn [b] or hornpipe is the same instrument will hardly admit of a doubt: and that it was *made for dances* is evident from Spenser:

“ Before them yode a lustie tabrere

“ That to the many a borne pype playd,

“ Where to they dauncen eche one with his mayd.

[a] Archaeologia, vol. III. p. 32.

[b] Ibid. p. 34.

" To see these folkes make such jovisaunce,
" Made my heart *after the pype to daunce* [c]."

But this instrument made a part of martial music, if we may rely on Chaucer's translation of the following lines from the French poet [d].

" Va et vient souvent quant il scet,
" Qu'il doit faire par nuyt le guet :
" Il monte le soir aux creneaulx
" Et attrempe ses *chalemeaulx*,
" Et ses *buyfines* et ses *cors*,
" Une heure dit chant de discors,
" Et sons nouveau de contretaille,
" Aux *chalemeaulx* de Cornouaille." V. 3991.

" Whan hys lotte was to wake a night,
" His instrumentes wolde he dight
" For to blowe and make sowne
" And walken ofte upon the wall—
" Dyscordaunt ever fro armonye
" And dystoned from melodye
" Controue he wolde, and foule fayle
" Wyth *horne pipis* of Cornewayle." V. 4250.

It is certain that our antient Bard is very indefinite in his translation: he takes no notice of *ses chalemeaulx* in the first instance, and gives it a confined sense in the second: the word is only *calamus*, a pipe. From the French we have our shalms, or soft pipes [e].

[c] Pastorals: May.

[d] When he speaks of *Malchouche* or *Wicked Tongue*.

[e] I do not like to differ in opinion with such respectable authority as Mr. Tyrwhitt, but cannot but think this passage shews it to be a pipe. See Glossary to Chaucer, v. *Shalme*.

" Tho

" Tho fawe I standen hem
 " That made loude mynstralles,
 " In cormuse and shalmyes
 " And many an other pype
 " And many a floyte and lytlynge horne
 " And pypes made of grene corne [f]."

As he proceeded no farther in the Romaunt of the Rose than v. 13105 of the original, we may infer from hence, and what follows that Cornwall was antiently famous for music.

" Puis met in cymbales fa cure, 21960.
 " Puis prent *freteaulx* et si fretele,
 " Et *cbalemeaulx* et chalemle,
 " Et puis taboure et fleute et tymbre.
 " Et *citole* [g] et trompe et *cheurie*
 " Et si *psalterionne* [h] et viele 21966.
 " D'une joliete viele :
 " Puis prent sa *musé* [i] et se travaille
 " Aux instrumens de *Cornouaille* ;
 " Et espringue, et fautele et bale."

It is pleasing to trace words to their origin. *Buyfine* is in Latin *Buccina*; I do not recollect the word under any shape among us; it is equivalent to Cornet, or lytling horn above. In Spanish it is *Bozina*, synonymous with *Corneta* [k], which

[f] House of Fame, B. 3.

[g] Perhaps viol or harp. See verses 19261, 22300.

[h] Psaltery a ten-stringed instrument. *Vocab. de la Crusca*. Saltero.

[i] Musette ou corneinuse.

[k] From its name signifies a horn: but in the Vulgate is used promiscuously, as *buccina*, *tuba*, and remarkably Ps. xcviij. 6. *tuba cornea*. See note [n].

in the great dictionary is named in Latin *Musicum Cornu*, *Bucina Symphoniaca*. It appears thence to be used in their church, as well as martial music: and from the enumeration of various in the latter by Cervantes we may conclude that they had different sorts of them [1]. That horns and trumpets were antiently as generally used in war, as drums, is to be demonstrated from many writers. It is not easy to define exactly the several instruments, nor does La Combe seem entitled to implicit assent in his explanations. *Fresleler*, says he, *jouer de la flute*. The *Fresfel*, notwithstanding this, was probably a stringed instrument, from whence in the words of Milton,

“All sounds on *fret* by string or wire.”

But the poem furnishes a proof that it was to be sung to, and might have been some kind of harp:

Droit est que mon *fresfel* estuye,

Car beau chanter souvent ennuye. V. 21567,70. [m].

But Chaucer's rendering — *Toutes fretchees de crotes* 12663. Fretted full of *tatterwaggies* 7211, adds a probability to the conjecture if not a direct proof of its reality. It is plain from these citations, that they served the purposes of dance and song. I have endeavoured to discover those in the Old Testament, and have at the end of this paper set together with our own translation that of the Latin Vulgate, the Italian by Diodati, and the Spanish published by Cyprian de Valera, and find no very material difference, but upon the collation a general coincidence, and some mutual illustration. I am not clear that I

[1] Las cornetas, los cuernos, las bocinas, los clarines, las trompetas, los tambores. The cornets, horns of various makes, clarions, trumpets, drums.

[m] It is right to put my *harp* in its case, for fine singing often tires.

have mentioned all: but those I have are as follows. Cornet, cymbal, dulcimer, flute, harp, organ, pipe, psaltery, sackbut, tabret, timbrel, trumpet. The cornet [n] is in the Vulgate *Buccina*, or *Tuba*; but the citation *tubæ corneæ*, Psalm xcvi. 6. shews the material of its composition: and if applicable to so large an instrument, will admit of no room for doubt of being the same in the cornmuse or hornpipe. There is nothing distinctive in the Italian. The dulcimer is certainly improperly rendered by Diodati *sampogna*, which means only a pipe. The Vulgate and Spanish has an instrument of strings: the latter of such an one as is strung in unison *en consonancias* [o]. If Skinner's interpretation of the sackbut, *tuba ductilis*, be right, and, what is remarkable, Nebrissenfis so renders it, this should have been the reading in Psalm xcvi. 6, as well as in Daniel, c. iii. Diodati's *arpicordo* here must be improper. The tabret and tymbrel have but one name in the Vulgate, and are drums in different forms.

THAT clock-making was brought to such a degree of perfection at the end of the thirteenth, or very early in the fourteenth century [p], that small *bourse*, nay probably, *table* clocks were then in use, seems apparent from what follows:

Et puis fait sonner ses orloges

Par ses salles et par ses loges,

A roes [q] trop subtillement

De pardurable mouvement. Roman de la Rose 21954.

This passage indicates nice and serviceable workmanship. And the modern Editor tells us that *Jean de Meun* finished the poem before 1305.

[n] See note [k].

[o] See Covarruvias, voz *Cinfonia*.

[p] See Archaeologia, vol. V. p. 416 & seq.

[q] *A roes*, or with wheels.

I SHALL close this account with mentioning from the Museum Physicum of Imperialis, l. ii. c. 2. a very small watch by an artist of Vicenza. His words are, "Vicentinus horologium in annulo principi Urbinati (ut ait Cardanus) dono dedit, quod cum vix effugeret oculos, horarum tamen intervalla perfectissime indicabat."

I am, with much respect,

your most obedient

humble servant,

JOHN BOWLE.

Musical Instruments in the Old Testament.

English Translation.	Latin Vulgate.
Gen. iv. 21. Harp and organ.	Cithara et organo.
— xxxi. 27. With tabret and with harp.	Cum tympanis et citharis.
Exodus xix. 13. 16. 19. The trumpet.	Buccina.
1 Sam. x. 5. Pfaltery, tabret, pipe and harp.	Pfalterium, tympanum, tibiam, et citharam.
2 Sam. vi. 5. And David, and all the house of Israel played before the Lord on all manner of <i>instruments made of firwood</i> , even on harps, and on pfalteries, and on tymbrels, and on cornets, and on cymbals.	David autem, et omnis Israel ludebant coram domino in omnibus lignis fabricatis, et cytharis et lyris, et tympanis et fistris et cymbalis.
1 Chron. xiii. 8. With singing, and with harps, and with pfalteries, and with tymbrels, and with cymbals, and with trumpets.	In canticis et in citharis, et pfalteriis, et tympanis et cymbalis, et tubis.
— xv. 28. Cornets, trumpets, cymbals, pfalteries, and harps.	Sonitu buccinæ, tubis, cymbalis, nablis et cytharis.
Job. xxi. 12. They take the tymbrel and harp, and rejoice at the sound of the organ.	Tenent tympanum, et cytharam, et gaudent ad sonitum organi.
Pf. xcvi. 5. Sing unto the Lord with the harp; with the harp, and the voice of a psalm. 6. With trumpets and sound of cornet make a joyful noise before the Lord, the king.	Pfallite Domino in cithara, et voce psalmi: in tubis ductilibus et voce tubæ cornæ jubilate in conspectu regis Domini.
Pf. cl. 4. Praise him with stringed instruments and organs. See Gen. xxxi. 27.	Laudate eum in chordis et organo.
Isaiah xxx. 32. With tabrets and harps.	In tympanis et citharis.
Den. iii. 5. 7. 10. 15. At what time ye hear the sound of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, pfaltery, dulcimer, and all kinds of music.	In hora qua audieritis sonitum tubæ, et fistulæ, et citharæ, sambucæ, et pfalterii, symphoniarum, et universi generis musicorum.
Hosea v. 8. Blow ye the cornet in Gibeon, and the trumpet in Ramah.	Clangite buccina in Gabaa, tuba in Rama.

Musical Instruments in the Old Testament.

Italian.

Cetera e l'organo.
Tamburi e cetere.

Corno, tromba.

Salteri, tamburi, flauti, cetere.

E David e tutta la casa d'Israel facevano festa davanzi al signore, sonando o qui forte *di strumenti fatti di legno d'abete*, con salteri, e con tamburi, e con flitri, e con cembali.

Con canti, e con cetere, e con salteri, e con tamburi, e con cembali, e con trombe.

Con suon di corni, e con trombe, e con cembali, con salteri e con cetere.

Effì alzano *la voce* col tamburo, e con la cetera: e si rallegrano al suon del organo.

Salmeggiate al signore con la cetera: con la cetera giunta al voce di canto. Date voci d'allegrezza con trombe, e suon di corno, nel cospetto del Rè, del Signore.

Laudate lo con l'arpicordo, e con l'organo.

Con tamburi e con cetere.

Nell' hora che voi udirete il suon del corno, del flauto, della cetera, dell' *arpicordo*, del salterio, della sampogna, e d'ogni specie *di strumenti* di musica.

Sonate con corno in Ghibea, e con la trombe in Rama.

Spanish.

Harpa y organo.
Tamborino, y vihuela.

El cuerno, 16, 19 el sonido de la bozina.

Psalterio, adufre, flauta, y harpa.

Y David y toda la casa de Israel daban delante de Jehova con toda fuerte *de instrumentos* de madera de haya, con harpas, psalterios, adufres, flautas, y cimbalos.

Con canciones, harpas, psalterios, tamborinos, cimbalos, y trompetas.

Con sonido de bozinas, y de trompetas, y de cimbalos, y psalterios, y harpas.

A son de tamborino y de vihuela saltan: y se huelgan al son del organo.

Dezid psalmos à Jehova con harpa: con harpa y boz de psalmodia. Con trompetas, y sonido de vozina: jubilad delante del Rey Jehova.

Alabaldo con cuerdas, y organo.

Con tamborinos, y vihuelas.

En oyendo el son de la bozina, del pifaro, del atambor, de la harpa, del psalterio, de la cinfonia, y de todo instrumento musico.

Tocad bozina en Gabaa, trompeta en Rama.

XXVI. *Some Account of the Burial-places of the ancient Tartars. In a Letter to the Rev. John Glen King, D.D. By the Rev. William Tooke, F. R. S. Chaplain to the English Factory at St. Petersburg.*

Read March 25, 1784.

DEAR SIR,

IN compliance with your request to communicate to you what I can find concerning the old sepulchres seen in the southern parts of Russia and in Siberia, I send you some reasons which render it probable that they are all the work of one and the same nation, however opposite a judgment those may pass who have bestowed on them only a cursory attention. Every thing that relates to the customs of the various societies mankind have formed is a proper subject of research to the inquisitive mind. The repositories of the dead have in all ages been objects of regard; at first as honourable testimonies of human sentiment, and in aftertimes as a ground of investigation into the manners and opinions of men. There is no nation so savage but has a reverence for military prowess, or beneficent dispositions for the man that is virtuous or heroic. Ideas of excellence may be various in various nations, but excellency according to that idea will meet with renown. The honours that are paid to such as excel will be ever in some degree characteristic of the people
that

that bestowed them, and must be considered as popular testimonies to prevailing opinions.

It is doubtless natural enough for the hasty traveller to pass over these as matters of but small attraction; and had not the barbarous plunderers of the deserts beheld them as objects of depredation, they would have still been unexplored. It was from predatory views that they were first dug open, and some curious persons have since examined them with various degrees of attention.

OF these Russian and Siberian sepulchres some are perfect tumuli, raised to an enormous height; while others are almost level with the ground. Some of them are encompassed with a square wall of large quarry stones placed in an erect position; others are covered only with a small heap of stones, or they are tumuli adorned with stones at top. Some are mured with brick within and vaulted over, others are no more than pits or common graves. In some the earth is excavated several fathoms deep; others, and especially those which are topped by a lofty tumulus, are only dug of a sufficient depth for covering the carcase.

WHAT chiefly excites our astonishment is, that some of these should be surmounted by the large quarry stones beforementioned. For in all the neighbouring country there is not a rock to be seen. They must therefore have been transported thither from immense distances by the most surprising efforts of labour; especially as the inhabitants of these parts have no idea of a machine adequate to the purpose in the most distant degree.

THESE sepulchres are discovered only in plain and extensive deserts, formerly the abode of a nation which seems to have subsisted by pasturage and the produce of the chase. On some
sepulchral

sepulchral stones figures of various forms are engraved, such as rude and misshapen outlines of the human face, crosses of different angles, and other representations which in all probability had never any meaning. But inscriptions, in any known or unknown languages or letters, have never hitherto been found upon them. And yet inscriptions are to be met with on single stones and statues in the desert on this side the river Yenisei, such as no one has ever been able to explain.

THE foregoing are the several characteristics of the exterior form of these sepulchral monuments. For pointing out their difference within, the following remarks will amply suffice.

IN many of these sepulchres the bones of men and frequently of horses are found, and in a condition that renders it probable the bodies were not burnt before they were inhumed. Other bones shew clearly that they have been previously burnt; because a part of them is unconsumed, and because they lie in a disordered manner, and some of them are wanting. Urns, in which other nations of antiquity have deposited the ashes of their dead, are never met with here. But sometimes what remained of the bodies after the combustion, and even whole carcases, are found wrapped up in thin plates of gold. Many dead bodies are frequently seen deposited together in one tomb; a certain indication that either a battle had been fought in the neighbourhood of the place, or that some families buried their relations in an hereditary tomb.

SKELETONS of horses are often found in these abodes of the dead. From whence we may infer, that the same superstitious opinions which still prevail among some nations of the East were likewise held by this antient people. It is received as an article of faith by many tribes that departed souls continue the same kind of life they followed while inhabitants of this material world; and Mohammed's doctrine of his paradise seems

to be established on the same belief. Men of quality therefore want their horses, and their favourite wives, and the servants that attended them in their terrestrial life. In conformity to this opinion, the women of India throw themselves into the flames upon the body of their deceased spouse; and a similar custom was prevalent among the Yakutes when they were first subjected to the Russian empire. The servants that had been faithful to their master were slain at his grave during the interment, and then buried with him. Nor was there any means of abrogating this cruel custom but by punishing the guilty as wilful murderers. In consequence of the same notion, the dead bodies were ornamented for denoting their quality in the future life. In the tomb of the defunct were deposited his sword and other implements of war; and to persons of both sexes were given the utensils and necessaries that might be requisite for the continuation of their existence.

No race of creatures in the human form can be so totally stupid as to believe that these utensils could be of any use to the dead bodies, since they are assured that these remain in the grave. When therefore they adhere to these superstitious practices, it is the souls of the wives, the horses, the servants, and the utensils (for, according to these philosophers, every production of nature and art is animated with a living soul) which they consecrate to the spirits of their departed friends. This tenet, which was held by the most remote antiquity, must have been common likewise to the people by whom these sepulchres were formed. For no other hypothesis can account for the relics of gold and silver they generally contain; and of which many articles are carefully preserved in the Museum of the Imperial Academy of St. Petersburg for the inspection of the curious.

SOME of these sepulchres are rich; but in others, here as well as in other districts, nothing of value is to be found. In the monuments abounding in the precious metals were without doubt deposited personages of rank; and we may presume, that wherever these are frequently found, there anciently dwelt a wealthy nation. Nothing was added to the body in the graves of the poor; and we may thence infer, that, when we find all the sepulchres in one district destitute of any valuables, it was a poor people who there interred their dead.

THE richest sepulchres are discovered on the banks of the Volga, the Tobol, the Irtysh, and the Ob. The tombs in the deserts on the river Yenisei are likewise not without relics of value; but those beyond the Baikal sea are the poorest of all. To account for this difference, we are by no means obliged to admit that these countries were inhabited by different nations. The most certain consequence to be drawn from it is, that some nation inhabited these parts, which, at successive periods, was in different conditions; poor in its commencement, but advancing afterwards from poverty to affluence. This inference is warranted by the history of all ages.

THERE is a very remarkable circumstance observable in some of the tombs on the upper part of the Yenisei, which forms an exception to the general rule of other sepulchres. Instead of ornaments and utensils of gold and silver found in other tombs, you meet here only with copper utensils. Even such instruments as would have been better wrought of iron are here found all of copper, as knives, darts, and daggers. The nation therefore whose dead are here inhumed seems to have been unacquainted with the use of iron; and these tombs must accordingly be more ancient than the others. Hence the travellers who found these relics conjectured that those regions must contain

some

some rich copper mines. And in this they were not mistaken; for the Sayane mountains abound in copper, and the mines have been worked by the ancient inhabitants of the country. In a large open desert on the river Abakan are likewise found mines of that metal; and, if they yield not so much at present as they formerly did, nothing is necessary but industry and attention for finding other places more abundant in mines. From the name of the Altaian mountains a similar conjecture has been formed. Alta, in the language of the Mongoles and Kalmucs, signifies *gold*; and this conjecture is now brought to perfect certainty by the discovery of the mines of Kolyvan.

HISTORY has transmitted down to us no certain accounts of the nation whose dead are here deposited, and who made use of copper utensils and weapons instead of iron. But, whoever they were, it is probable that the inscriptions in the unknown language discovered in these regions were composed and written by that people. Perhaps it was the Uigures or Igureans, from whom the great founder of the Mongol monarchy first received letters and the art of writing; for the nation was not instructed in that art till the time of this conqueror. The Igureans must certainly have been an ancient and a polished nation, if they invented a particular mode of writing which had nothing in common with that of any other people. Such are these inscriptions. But, if we presume that Tschingis used this manner of writing, his successors must have changed it for another; since the present Mongole writing evidently discovers its Syrian origin. Yet even this language may be called the Igurean; because certain missionaries of the Nestorian sect lived among the Igureans, and communicated their manner of writing to the Mongoles. The word Uigur or Uegur in the Mongol language generally denotes *a foreigner*.

WITH greater certainty we may affirm, that the ancient sepulchres in Siberia and Russia are the work of the Tartars who lived in the reign of Tschingis and his first successors. This hero founded his monarchy in the beginning of the thirteenth century. The Mongoles and Tartars united under his sceptre were at that time a poor people, wandering in the deserts of the rivers Selenga, Orchon, and Onon, and sometimes straying as far as the Baikal sea. This last circumstance obviously affords us a reason why these tombs contain so few valuable relics; and the fact is corroborated by history, which likewise in its turn receives light from it. By the same means as we are enabled to account for the poverty of the tombs about Selenginsk and Nertschinsk, we are capacitated also to ascertain whence the Tartars got these riches that are found in the other sepulchres.

IN the year 1281 Tschingis began the conquest of China, which was finished so successfully by his nephew Koblai, in whose person began a new dynasty known in the history of that empire by the name of Juen, which continued uninterruptedly to the year 1367. The Tartars soon made themselves rich in China; but, not contented with their wealth, they traversed almost all Asia and a considerable part of Europe, increasing their riches in proportion as they proceeded in their conquests. In the year 1224, they first invaded Russia, and fought that signal battle on the river Kalka. From 1237 to 1240, they subdued the whole country. Notwithstanding they were divided under different chieftains and into different parties, and those who overrun Asia had nothing in common with the conquerors of Europe but the name; they had however a general head of the family, who had been acknowledged by their forefathers. To the main camp of that common chieftain was therefore brought much of the riches carried off from the conquered countries.

I think

I think it highly probable, that this main camp was in the thirteenth century in some parts of the desert on the Irtysh; and that the Tartars, divided into different hordes, inhabited all the regions between the Yaik and the Ob. In that century the missionaries from Rome, Carpin, Rubruquis, and others, visited these countries. The last river they mention in their voyages is the Yaik; had they crossed the Irtysh, they would not certainly have omitted to take notice of it. But, as they say nothing of that river, we may thence infer that the camp of the Khans, to whom they were delegated, was on this side of the river Irtysh.

WE know that European goldsmiths resided among the Tartars and worked for them. Rubruquis mentions a Frenchman, Guillaume, who he says made very curious pieces of workmanship for the Khan Mangus Batu. The conqueror of Poland, Russia, Silesia, and Hungary, must have had still more of these artists in his service. It is remarked likewise that the best relics, which are found in the sepulchres near the Volga, are as rich as those in other tombs. The *Zolotaia orda* (the golden horde) that was given to the camp of the Khans who subdued Russia, must have been given on account of the riches of that Tartarian horde.

BUT concerning the tombs of the *Zolotaia horda* we can only form conjectures; as these were opened and searched in times very remote, of which no narrative is preserved. Some curiosities in the cabinet of the Imperial Academy here are presumed to be from those regions; but this opinion is founded merely on conjecture.

WE are better informed upon the article of the sepulchres found on the rivers Irtysh, Tobol, Ob, and Yenisei. These could only be explored at the beginning of the present century,

after

after the Kalmucs and Kirguises, who infested these parts, had retired to other plains. About twenty years ago, there were many persons in Siberia who still subsisted entirely on the spoils they had formerly obtained by ransacking these sepulchres. But since that time it is not certainly known that any have followed this occupation. The custom was to associate in large companies for searching after sepulchres, in the same manner as they do in our times for hunting fables. But the countries between the Ob and the Irtysh were often plundered by the Kirguise Kofacs, after the retreat of the Kalmucs. To the western side of the Irtysh very few have ventured of late years, on account of the incursions of those Kofacs; but since the government has now taken care to prevent them, it may be presumed that in some future period great riches may be procured from thence.

WE cannot find that the rich sepulchres bear any peculiar external marks upon them; but it is supposed, from various reasons, that the tombs on the eastern side of the Irtysh, where great numbers are yet unexplored, will yield no great advantage. Some have been examined at Ustkamenogorskaia, but they contained nothing of any value. Their whole contents consisted in instruments of iron, grown so rusty that it was scarcely possible to discover for what use they had been made. In others that were opened near Nertschinsk, nothing of any consequence was found; not even bones of men, but only those of horses. Hence it is probable, that the ashes of burnt bodies alone, or the remains of human bones that were here deposited, might have been long ago mouldered away; but the bones of horses killed at the interment, and which were not burnt, may have subsisted a longer time unaltered.

SOME of these curiosities were brought to the academy. Among others, there is a man on horseback tolerably well executed

ented in gold; as likewise some silver coins with the impress of a rose just opening from the bud; but there are no inscriptions on any of them. The nation therefore by whom this coin was struck, could not have been at that time acquainted with the art of writing. Or, at least this money must have been coined previous to the introduction of the Mohammedan religion among the Tartars; for it was by that means that these nations became acquainted with the Arabic letters which they have ever since made use of in inscriptions on their coins.

THE gold in these tombs is seldom pure, but commonly adulterated with silver; and the silver has generally an alloy of half its weight in copper. It was very easy for the European workmen to cheat the simple Tartars.

It is extremely unfortunate that many of these curiosities fell into the hands of ignorant people who immediately melted them down. But from those preserved in the Imperial Academy we may form an idea of several circumstances relating to that ancient nation.

I am, &c.

W. TOOKE.

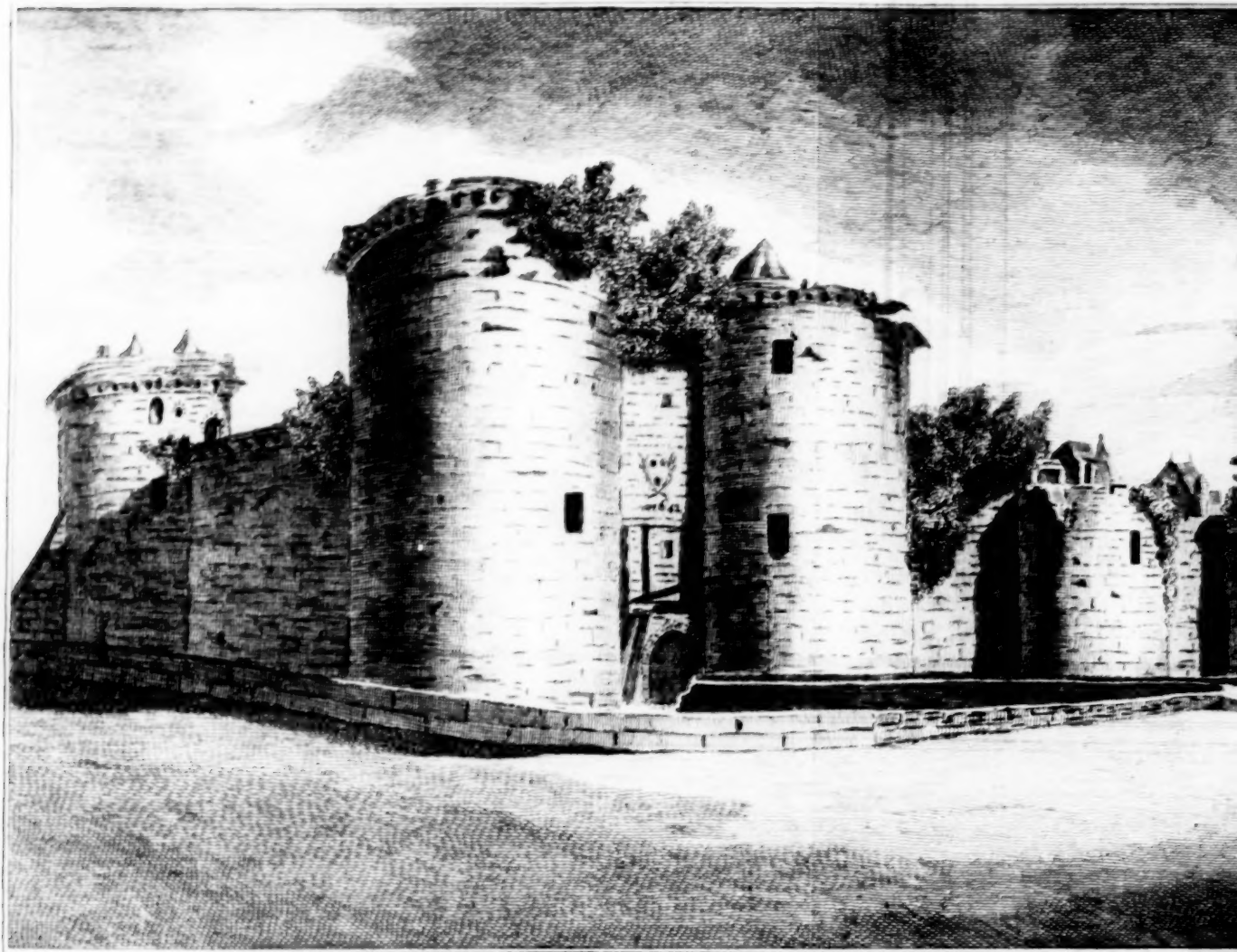
XXVII. *Description of an ancient Castle at Rouen in Normandy, called Le Château du Vieux Palais, built by Henry V. King of England. By Edmund Turner, jun. Esq. Acad. Reg. Rouen Soc. In a Letter addressed to Edward King, Esq. President of the Society of Antiquaries.*

Read April 1, 1784.

SIR,

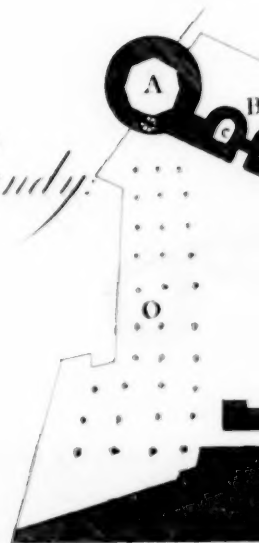
HAVING, in a tour which I made in Normandy in the summer of 1783, had an opportunity of viewing the remains of the ancient castle of Rouen, called *Le Château du Vieux Palais*, and of obtaining a drawing of it as it now stands, together with a ground plan, I beg leave to present them to you, and at the same time take the liberty of adding a few remarks by way of illustration; submitting to your judgement whether they deserve the attention of the learned Society, over which you preside.

ON the 18th of January 1418, when the city of Rouen, after a siege of seven months, yielded to the victorious arms of Henry V. it was agreed, in the articles of capitulation, that the said king should be at liberty to choose a place or piece of ground, either within or without the city and near the walls, to build a palace, on condition that the said king would recompence according to his will and discretion any burghers whose



Château du vieux Palais at Rouen in Normandy.

- A. Tower called Halcyon.
- B. The ancient entrance.
- H. The present entrance.



See

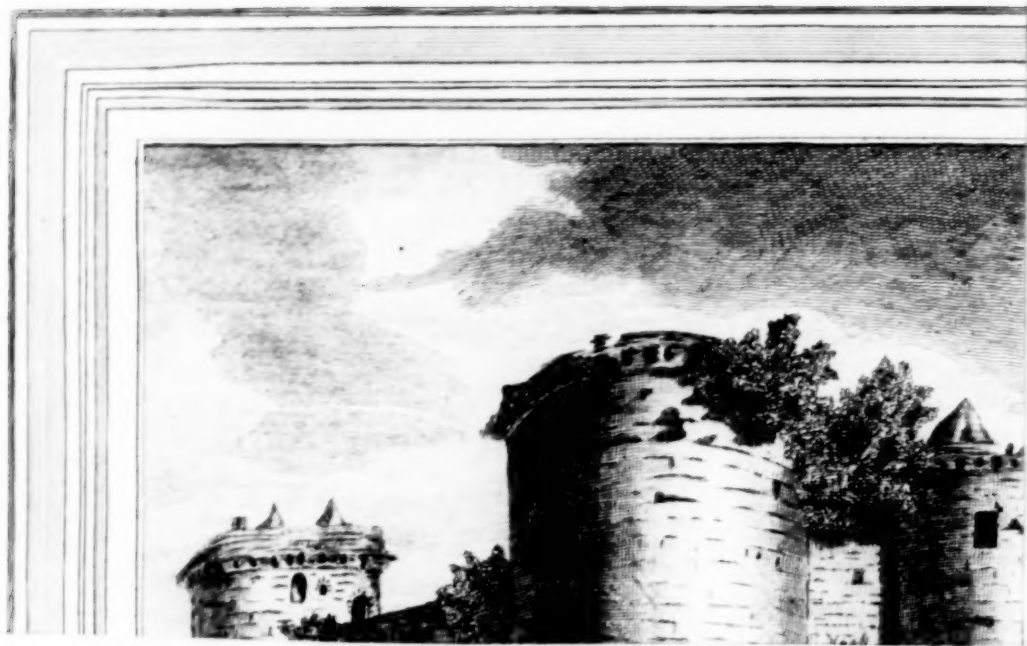


*Tour dans laquelle fut enfermée la Pucelle d'Orléans
avant son supplice On la voit dans les fossés de Bourvieux*

built by Henry V. King of England 1419.



- L. The site of the Ducal Palace.*
- M. Communication with the city.*
- XX. A deep and wide Trench.*
- OO. A Terrace planted with Trees.*



land he might fix upon for the same [a]. The first step taken towards carrying this plan into execution seems to have been the erecting strong towers to guard the intended palace, and likewise to serve the purpose of a citadel to command the town. The situation chosen for this magnificent building was a piece of ground in the south west corner within the city walls, and near to the river Seine. The drawing is taken from the north-east corner, and represents the north and east sides which face the city. I have been the more particular in endeavouring to describe the site of the *Vieux Palais*, as I learnt with surprise and concern that this building so ornamental to Rouen will probably be rased to the ground before many years are at an end. See pl. xix.

THE great tower, see plan [b] letter A, was begun in the year 1419 [c], and being now part of the Lieutenant Governor's apartment, it has undergone so many alterations, that nothing of its former ornaments remains except the cielings which are of stone, and curiously wrought with eight projecting ribs in the Gothic taste to answer to the octagonal shape of the rooms, which are twenty-seven feet diameter and nineteen feet high; under these rooms, which are one above the other, is a vault or dungeon. The walls of this tower are sixteen feet seven inches thick, in which is carried up a circular staircase of seven feet diameter, lighted by windows three feet by two within; but diminishing gradually towards the outside of the wall.

[a] "Item, a été accordé que notre dit Seigneur Roy aura un lieu ou espace de terre qu'il choisira à sa volonté, ou dans la cité ou dehors, et pres des murailles, pour y construire un palais, à condition toutefois que s'il se rencontre des héritages appartenant à quelque bourgeois, le dit Seigneur Roy les recompensera à sa volonté et discretion." *Farin, Hist. de la Ville de Rouen*, 4to. vol. I. p. 122.

[b] Pl. xix.

[c] *Stow's Annals*, A. D. 1419. *Farin, ibid.*

THIS tower from its great strength and solidity acquired the name of *La Tour de Malfyfrotte* probably from the French words *se froter mal*, signifying that it would be dangerous to meddle with it: from the first floor of this tower there seems always to have been a communication with the fortifications of the city.

As the towers at (c. d. e.) were used as magazines for gun-powder, I could not have access to examine whether there was any singularity in the formation of the ancient, and I suppose, original entrance at B, of which evident traces may be observed in the outer wall. The present entrance at H guarded by a draw-bridge, a port-cullis and two gates (one of which only now remains) was made in the year 1642, as the date cut in stone and the tradition of the place amply testify.

THE walls of the towers at (f. g. and i.) are twelve feet thick, the rooms are about twenty-one feet wide, of irregular forms, and the ceilings resemble those in the tower of *Malfyfrotte*, which makes me conjecture that their original destination might possibly have been for the officers of state. The communication from one tower to another appears always to have been at the top of the walls between them.

THE tower at (k) was taken down in 1706, at which time the terrace at O. O. was made and planted with trees, which are now grown to be very ornamental. As these towers have been appropriated to various uses, windows have been made in them at different times, round the fosse at N. N. I could discover no apertures coeval with the building, except one row of loop-holes immediately above the set off, in the larger towers three in number, in the lesser only two. The area within the castle contains by estimation three acres. At L was the royal palace, of which there do not remain the smallest traces; but that it did exist, in part at least, appears evident from a deed of exchange

exchange of lands between Henry VI. and a convent of *Beguines*, dated February 4, 1443, wherein it is recited that part of the royal palace being erected according to the article of capitulation made on that behalf, it was found necessary, in order to compleat the same, to demolish an hotel belonging to the said nuns, in lieu of which they were to have two hotels in another part of the city [d].

I CANNOT conclude this paper without acknowledging my obligations to the polite and civil attention of Mr. *Descamps* of Rouen, author of the *Lives of the Flemish Painters*, for the enclosed drawing and plan which were taken under his direction, and for the permission he obtained for me to see the inside of some of the towers, a compliment not often paid to strangers.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

March 24, 1784.

EDMUND TURNOR, JUN.

[d] " Henry par la grace de Dieu Roy de France et d'Angleterre; scavoir faisons à tous presens et a venir, comme par le traité et composition de la ville et cité de Rouen, rendue à feu notre très cher sieur et Pere le Roy, à qui Dieu pardonne, eut été permis et accordé entre autres choses par les gens d'Eglise, nobles, bourgeois et autres, qu'icelui notre feu sieur et pere auroit et prendroit à son election et volonté une place en ladite ville auprès des murs d'icelle, pour y construire un palais royal, ainsi qu'il le verroit expedient &c. Et soit ainsi après que le dit palais a été en partie édifié au lieu où notre dit Seigneur et Pere l'avoit ordonné, joignant l'hôtel où demeurent maintenant les *Beguines*, ait été avisé et conclus par plusieurs de nos officiers que le dit hôtel des *Beguines* étoit et pouvoit être prejudiciable à la garde et sureté de notre palais, et que pour ce il convenoit demolir le dit hôtel pour le fait de la fortification du palais dessus dit: à ces causes enfin de récompenser les dites *Beguines*, qui nous ont franchement delaisé leur dit hôtel, pourvu que nous voulussions leur bailler par achat et comme une chose amortie un autre heritage consistant en deux hôtels proche l'un de l'autre (c'est en la paroisse de St. Vigor &c. Donné à Rouen le 4 Fevrier l'an 1443." *Farin*, vol. I. p. 103.

XXVIII. *An Account of certain remarkable Pits or Caverns in the Earth, in the County of Berks. By the Hon. Daines Barrington, V. P. S. In a Letter to the Rev. Dr. Douglas, F. S. A.*

Read April 29, 1784.

DEAR SIR,

March 9, 1784.

THE Society having so often indulged me in laying before them what hath occurred in relation to antiquities, emboldens me (through your friendly introduction) to give some account of a large extent of pits, which I conceive to have been excavated in most remote ages, before the inhabitants of this island were the least civilized.

THAT a better idea may be formed of these pits, I subjoin a plan, which I employed an able surveyor to make, representing the whole area of the inclosed field in which they are situated, and which contains 45 acres, the excavated part being 14 or nearly one third, and the pits consisting of no less a number than 273 [a].

THE plan fully explains how close to each other these pits are placed; but it is necessary to be very particular in directing any person who may have a curiosity to examine them, as they

[a] The depths of these pits vary from 7 to 22 feet, the diameters of some being 40 feet.

are

are out of all road or path, and will only be stumbled upon by a hunter, or shooter of rabbits.

THEY are situated about half a mile West from Little Coxwell in Berkshire, and may be heard of at that village under the name of *Cole's Pits* [b]. They belong to Charles Pye, Esq. of Whadley, by a lease which he holds under Oriel College, Oxford.

I NEED scarcely mention for what purpose pits are generally dug; but the singularity of these arises from its being impossible to discover for what material fourteen acres of ground could have been thus honey-combed.

At first it may possibly strike many, that the name being *Cole's Pits*, such kind of fuel might have been thus procured; but, unfortunately for this part of Berkshire, no coals were ever found within fifty miles of Little Coxwell.

By others it may be conjectured that clay for brick or tiles might occasion these excavations: the soil, however, both on the surface near these pits, and even at the bottom of them, is a perfectly dry sand.

It may be supposed again that there were formerly stone quarries, from which a great town may have been built: but not a single stone is to be found in the bottom or sides of these pits, nor in the adjoining part of the field. There is no considerable town moreover in the neighbourhood except Farringdon, many of the houses wherein are cased only with plaster, nor is perhaps the oldest house in the town more than a hundred years standing. There is likewise no mine of any sort within a hundred miles of Little Coxwell, nor the least appearance of marble in the adjoining fields.

[b] They are so called in a survey of 1687.

HAVING thus endeavoured to shew what could not have been the cause of digging so many pits, I shall now risque a conjecture as to what may have been the original inducement for removing so many thousand cubical yards of sand.

I CONCEIVE then this area to have been a considerable city of the Britons in the time of the earliest inhabitants of this island, which at an average of five *souls* (to be accommodated in each pit) would amount to nearly 1400.

A MORE proper spot for the residence of uncivilized people could not have been pitched upon, as the pits consist entirely of the driest sand, and are situated in the rich vale of Whitehorse.

PERHAPS many may start at this idea, which I must admit to be rather new and uncommon; but we shall find that the necessity of nearly the same habitations hath been experienced by the early inhabitants of most countries, and still continues in some, where no refinements of life have been introduced.

THE Romans, ambitious as they were of extensive empire, never penetrated into parts so entirely barbarous, for Great Britain at the time of Cæsar's invasion was by no means in this state; and if I am required to fix the æra of the supposed British town, which I have been describing, I can only do it negatively, by dating it prior to the stupendous structure of Stonehenge.

WITHIN the limits of the Roman empire, however, Strabo states that in the island of Ægina, to save the trouble of making bricks, the inhabitants used to live in hollows [c], which they dug under ground; and this custom still prevails in some parts of Poland where dwellings of that sort are termed *limfinks* [d].

[c] Strabo, l. viii.

[d] Mulgrave on the Græcian Mythology.

WHERE the country is rocky indeed, caves are sometimes used by barbarians for habitations; and many of these are to be found both in Malta and Minorca [e].

VIRGIL again, taking it probably from some Greek writer who lived not far distant from the Palus Mæotis, thus expresses himself with regard to the manner in which the inhabitants spent their winter:

“ Ipfi in defoffis specubus, fecura sub altâ
“ Otia agunt terrâ.” Georgic. iii. 376.

But to come nearer home —

LELAND, in his Itinerary [f], gives us the following account, of what he had observed in that range of hills in Carmarthen-shire, which are generally termed the *Black Mountains*.

“ THERE be a great number of pitts made with hande, large
“ like a bowle, and narrow at the bottom, overgrowne in the
“ swarte with fine grasse, and be scattered here and there about
“ the quarter where the head of Kenner River riseth, that
“ cummeth by Carie Kennen, and summe of these will receive
“ a hunderith menne.”

I CANNOT but conceive that these pits, thus described by Leland, were dug by the Aborigines of this island for the purpose of habitations, as it is believed that there are no mines at present of any kind in this part of the Black Mountain, much less could they have been excavated for this purpose before the time of Leland.

FORTUNATELY, however, for the conjecture I have made upon this occasion, though not so for their own comforts, there are now inhabitants of Kamskatka, who are as little civilized as our

[e] Armstrong's *Minorca*. p. 223, 224.

[f] Vol. VIII. p. 119.

aboriginal ancestors, and who make use of the same excavations for the same purpose.

THE process is the following—Having first dug the pit to the proper depth, they fix a number of stems in a perpendicular position, over which they place horizontal planks at such intervals, that they support sods of earth, which cover the whole roof except at a small hole which is left in the centre, and through which they descend into the pit by means of an awkward ladder. This same aperture answers also the purpose of a chimney [g]. Three or four families of the Tschuski, situated considerably to the northward, often live in very similar habitations.

It would be ridiculous to contend that such a subterraneous dwelling hath the conveniency of a modern house; but to an unpolished barbarian, it affords protection from cold and tempest, which are the injuries he must chiefly apprehend [h]. To complete such a den, nothing more is requisite, than a tool to fell a tree, and another to dig the pit.

BUT it may possibly be asked that if these pits near Coxwell really formed a British town, why do not we find more of them in different parts of the island?

To this I answer, that those which I have given an account of to the Society, probably were considered as the *London* of those rude times, for it is fairly to be inferred from more than

[g] See the History of Kamkatka, where there is an engraving of what is here described, the whole of which is confirmed to me by a sea officer who visited these parts on the last voyage of discovery. The account of Kamkatka above alluded to is translated from the Russian by Dr. Grieve, 4to, 1764. I may also refer to the representation of such a subterraneous dwelling, in captain King's account of Kanikatska.

[h] A Kamkatka family is also completely secured in such an habitation from the ravages of wild beasts during the winter, as they cannot descend by the awkward ladder, which the natives make use of.

fourteen acres having been thus excavated, that upwards of thirteen hundred inhabitants lived in this antient metropolis.

ALL barbarous and uncultivated countries are most thinly peopled; and thirteen hundred souls, living contiguously within such a space, are for such times perhaps a greater number for the then capital of this island, than eight hundred thousand are for the present.

IN other instances four or five dens were sufficient to constitute a village [1], which when they happen to be stumbled upon from having not been filled up for the purposes of cultivation, are commonly attributed to the digging for stone, clay, or other fossile material.

THE truth however is, that few think about the cause of what they most commonly meet with; nor is this large mass of pits (covering fourteen acres of ground) noticed by any one in the neighbourhood, but for its sometimes harbouring rabbits.

THAT there are others very similar in the Black Mountains of Carmarthenshire, appears by what I have already cited from Leland's Itinerary; and I am informed that there are more which lie in Somersetshire between Meere and Wincanton, being called the Pen-Pits. I have little doubt therefore but if this my conjecture should be considered as well founded, many other such excavations will be heard of, especially if the extent of ground covered with them is large, because the expence of filling them up would amount to so much, that it never could answer for cultivation.

I SHALL conclude what I have to offer to the Society on this head by observing, that the Coxwell pits are precisely in the situation which must have been convenient for such a subter-

[1] Such a village is called an *Ostrog*, in the Russian language.

aneous town, because the sand is rich as well as dry, for sand which is poor would soon crumble in from every side of the pit, and consequently occasion the necessity of frequently removing the incumbrance. Cole's pits are also surrounded by a most fertile country.

I ADMIT the conjecture I have made to be new, and therefore perhaps bold; but the more I have thought upon the subject, the less have I been able to account for such an assemblage of pits from any other cause, and the subterraneous dwellings used by the Kamkatkans at this day seem to prove, that in all cold climates the absolutely barbarous inhabitants will have recourse to the same protection from the inclemencies of the weather. You have also been so kind as to inform me that in the last voyage of discovery [k] the same dens were observed both at Oonalaska and all the other islands on the N. W. coast of America.

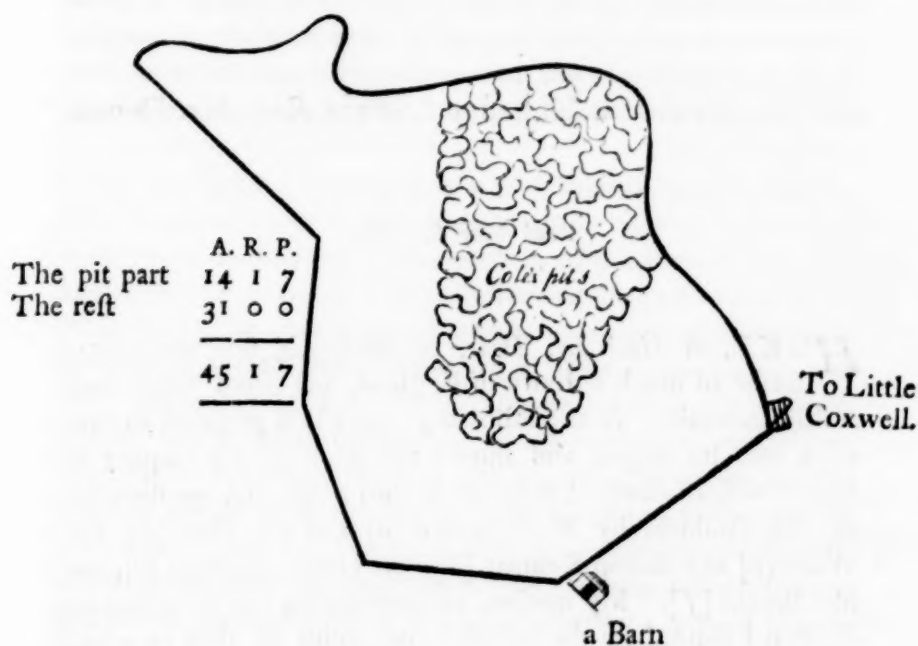
For another general usage in the same latitudes, which seems equally to arise from necessity, I believe I may refer to the travelling during winter by means of snow-shoes.

Believe me, dear Sir,

Your most faithful humble servant,

DAINES BARRINGTON.

[k] See also Levesque's *Russia*, t. i. p. 40, 41; and Cox's *Russian Discoveries*, p. 149.



The pits are 273 in number as near as possibly I could count them, and of various depths from 7 to 22 feet, and 40 feet and upwards diameter; the largest not the deepest in general.

XXIX. *Memoir on Hokeday. By the Rev. Mr. Denne.*

Read May 6, 1784.

HOKE, or *Hock-day*, *Hoke*, or *Hock-tyde*, was formerly a season of much festivity in England, but from what cause is still uncertain. In the following pages it is proposed to examine into its origin, and should the result of my enquiry be judged unsatisfactory, I shall not be surprized, the question being left doubtful by Mr. Lambard [a] and Dr. Plott [b], Dr. Watts [c] and Bishop Kennett [d], Sir Henry Spelman [e], and Mr. Bryant [f]. My motive, for attempting this investigation is, that I think I see the subject in one point of view in which it does not appear to have been considered by these intelligent and learned writers.

Two principal notions are adopted with respect to the rise of this feast, one that supposes it to have been the remains of a heathen custom, which might have been introduced by the Romans; the other, that it was designed to celebrate the deliverance of Englishmen from the dominion of the Danes. There

[a] Perambulation of Kent, p. 136.

[b] History of Oxfordshire, p. 201.

[c] Glossary to M. Paris Hist.

[d] Parochial Antiquities, Glossary.

[e] Glossary.

[f] Observations upon the Poems of Thomas Rowley, part I. p. 295, &c.
being

being no traces of the same regard to this season out of this country, at the time of its being universally observed among us, will rather incline us to believe that the Hokeday was a local anniversary, founded upon some occurrence extremely pleasing and beneficial to our ancestors.

IN the History of England, whilst harrassed and ravaged by the Danes, are two events to which the Hokeday has been thought to allude; that of the massacre of the Danes in the year 1002, in the reign of Etheldred II. and that of the death of Hardicanute, the last monarch of that line, at a marriage feast in Lambeth on the 8th of June 1042. The former, which was the more common opinion, Mr. Bryant has shewn to be destitute of any plausible support. Though the secret commission dispersed by Etheldred through the kingdom to incite his subjects to massacre all the Danes resident among them, on St. Brice's day (Nov. 13), was probably not so generally obeyed as has been reported, the slaughter of them was undoubtedly very great, and attended with such acts of barbarity as cannot be read without detestation and horror. But the measure was as unwise as it was inhuman; for, in order to revenge the murder of his countrymen, Sweyn in the next year made a second expedition into England, and laid waste its western provinces with fire and sword. The conquest of it soon followed, and was productive of such a series of oppression and misery as this country had hardly ever before suffered. It cannot therefore be conceived, as Mr. Bryant has justly observed, that a holiday could be instituted to commemorate so cruel an event, which afforded matter for humiliation and sorrow, instead of festivity and mirth.

No similar objection can be urged to contravert the notion, that the decease of Hardicanute was celebrated at the Hokeday feast;

feast; because by his death the English were for ever released from the wanton insults, and boundless exactions of him and his countrymen. And, perhaps, the time and the manner of keeping the Hoketyde, with other incidental circumstances, may be found to warrant this appropriation of it.

Quindena paschæ was the season of celebration; by which, as is obvious, must be meant, not the second Sunday after Easter, but some day in the ensuing week: and Matthew Paris and other writers have expressly named Tuesday. It was a day of such notoriety, as to be used for ascertaining public and private occurrences. Thus in the reign of Henry III. A. 1252; the king is said to have summoned by the cryer all the Londoners from the least to the greatest, on the Monday immediately preceding what is vulgarly called Hokeday. A. 1253, on the *Quindena paschæ*, vulgarly called Hokeday, all the nobles of England assembled in London; and A. 1258, there was a parliament at London upon the Tuesday vulgarly called Hokeday. In the annals of Dunstable, it is recorded, that in the year 1252, on Hokeday, the village of Effebum, and the stable belonging to the monks of the priory at Dunstable, were burnt [g]: and that on Hokeday, A. 1293, the king's marshals fined the town for short weights and stinking meats [h].

It was also distinguished as a day for the keeping of courts, for the payment of taxes and rents, and for fixing the time of husbandry work, and of pasturing stock. A court-leet and baron for the manor of Dodford in Northamptonshire was kept on the Wednesday after Hok Tuesday [i]. A. 1294, the priory of Dunstable paid the abbot of Osney a moiety of their spiri-

[g] Hearne, *Ann. de Dunstable*, p. 294. *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica*, 8^{vo} VII. p. 85.

[h] Hearne, *ib.* p. 607. *Bib. Top. Brit.* p. 145.

[i] Bridges's *History*, p. 55.

tualities and temporalities granted to the king, and due on St. Hugh's day; and the other half was payable on Hokeday [k].

COWEL mentions his having seen a lease without date reserving rent payable at two terms of the year, viz. Le Hokeday, and at the feast of All Saints [l]. In an old rental of the royal manor of Wy, it was entered, that all kinds of summer average was to be performed between Hokeday and the Gule of August [m]; and in an inquest of the customs of the manor of Piddington in Oxfordshire belonging to the prior and the convent of St. Fridiswid, was this return, that between Hokeday and St. Martin's day, two hundred and forty sheep should remain upon the lands of the lord to manure the same [n]. There was also a payment denominated Hok Tuesday money, which was a duty given to the landlord, that his tenants and bondsmen might solemnize that day, in which, says Cowel, the English massacred the Danes. And in the accounts of Magdalen College, Oxford, is stated a yearly allowance from some of their manors in Hampshire *pro mulieribus boetantibus*, construed by Cowel for women *bocking* the men.

OF the manner of keeping this celebrity no information is to be had from any of the early historians I have examined. John Ross, or Rouse, who must have collected his materials for the History of Warwickshire after the middle of the fifteenth century, asserts, what was vulgarly called *Hox Tuisday*, to have been a token of the deliverance of Englishmen from the servitude of the Danes by the death of Hardicanute, and writes thus of the observance of it, *ludunt in villis trabendo cordas partialiter*

[k] Hearne's Ann. de Dunstable, p. 632. Bib. Top. Brit. No. VIII. p. 149.

[l] Law Dictionary, title Hokeday.

[m] Spelman's Glossary.

[n] Kennett's Parochial Antiquities, p. 490.

cum aliis jociis [o]. Lambard coincides in opinion with Rofs as to the origin of this festival; and adds, "that ever after the
 " common people in joy of that deliverance have celebrated the
 " annual day of Hardicanute's death (as the Romanes did their
 " feast of *fugalia* or chasing out of the kings) with open pas-
 " time in the streets, calling it even till this our time, *Hoc-*
 " *tyde*." Spelman's notion about the rise of this holiday was, that it might have a reference to Etheldred's massacre of the Danes, but he thought the establishment was owing to the absolute and final expulsion of that people by Edward the Confessor, and, according to him, a part of the diversion on Hokeday consisted in the men and the women binding one another, particularly the women the men, and that from hence it was called *binding Tuesday*.

THE following extracts are from Plot's History of Oxfordshire, and comprize the most circumstantial detail given of the Hokeday, whilst any observance of it remained.

" *Hoc-day, Hock-day, Hoke tide, Hoke Monday, and Hoke Tuesday*, is by all agreed to be a festival celebrated in memory of the great slaughter of the Danes in the time of king Etheldred, they being all slain throughout England in one day, and great part by women [p]. Whence it came to pass, that the women to this day bear the chief rule in this feast; stopping all passengers with ropes and chains, and laying hold on passengers, and exacting some small matter of them, with part whereof they make merry, and part they dispose of to pious uses, such as the reparation of their church, &c.

" As about the name, so about the time authors differ much; some making *Hoke-day* to be the *Tuesday*, and others the

[o] Rofs, edit. Hearne, p. 105. Bourne's *Antiquities of the Common People*, edit. by Mr. Brand, p. 402. not.

[p] Vide *Watli Glossarium* in Matt. Paris.

“ Monday fourteenth night after Easter, and none of them on
 “ the Danes massacre, which Henry archdeacon of Hunting-
 “ don expressly says was on the feast of St. Brice the thirteenth
 “ of November. That it was formerly observed on Tuesday,
 “ not only Mr. Lambard, but Matthew Paris gives his testi-
 “ mony. *Et post diem martis quæ vulgariter Hokeday appella-*
 “ *tur factum est parliamentum Londini &c.*” (M. Paris in an.
 1228, edit. Watfii, 963.) And yet the same Matthew Paris in
 another place makes it fall on the Quinsieme of Easter, *in quin-*
dena paschæ quæ vulgariter Hokeday appellatur convenerunt Lon-
dini &c. (Id. in ann. 1255, p. 904,) which must needs be Mon-
 day [q], and the very same day it is observed here at Oxford in
 our times.

“ INSOMUCH that I once thought they might anciently, as
 “ well as now, observe two *Hock days*, one for the women, and
 “ another for the men, but that I find the same Matt. Paris to
 “ mention the Monday before *Hoke Tuesday*, and not calling it
 “ a *Hock day* at all, viz. A. 1252, where mentioning king
 “ Henry the Third's taking on him the crusado, he says he did
 “ it, *die lunæ quæ ipsum diem proxime præcedit, quem Hokeday*
 “ *appellamus*, (Matt. Paris, edit. Wats. p. 834.). However it
 “ were then, it is certain that now we observe two of them
 “ here, on Monday for the women, which is the more solemn,
 “ and Tuesday for the men which is very inconsiderable. And
 “ yet neither of them perhaps was the *dies Martis ligatoria*,
 “ whatever Sir Henry Spelman may think, whereon men and

[q] The mistake is in Dr. Plott, and not in Matt. Paris, who repeatedly men-
 tions Tuesday as the Hokeday. Not Monday, but Sunday must be literally the
 Quindena Paschæ; and as Sunday was the first day, the title of it gave the deno-
 mination to the week; in the same manner as Easter week, Rogation week,
 Whitfund week, are called from the Sundays respectively preceding.

“ women used to bind one another, that being now celebrated
“ in some parts of England on Shrove Tuesday.”

THAT all agreed in the Hokeday's being a commemoration of the massacre of the Danes is another mistake in Dr. Plott. He was, however, one of the many who assented to it; but the notion itself being now found to be erroneous, the chief rule which, all allow, the women bore on Hoke Tuesday could not possibly have resulted from the great part, Watts says in his Glossary, they had in that barbarous transaction, nor is the sex accused of it by a single historian, and some writers are copious in their recitals.

ACCORDING to Plott, in his time, the Hokeday for the women was the more solemn, but was on the Monday; and the Tuesday, which was inconsiderable, was for the men. Should this have been then the practice, there must have been a material deviation from the original custom; for it is plain, from the several unquestionable passages already cited, that Tuesday was the principal day. And Spelman, whose authority is superior to Plott's, expressly says, that, on binding Tuesday, the women chiefly bound the men, and had the pre-eminence. Conformable to this was the usage of the manors in Hampshire noticed by Cowel, where the men were said to *beck* the women on Monday, and *e contra* on Tuesday; the meaning of which, as the learned doctor interprets it, is, that on that day the women in merriment stop the ways with ropes and pull passengers to them, desiring something to be laid out in pious uses.

FROM the declarations of both Plott and Cowel, and from other evidence which shall be produced, Dr. Plott's idea that there might have been anciently two Hokedays appears to have been well founded. The case seems to have been, that the Hokeday season began on the Monday, in the same manner as several

several feasts of the dedications of churches and other holidays and fairs commenced on the day or the vigil before, and was a sort of preparation for or introduction to the principal feast. On Hoke Monday it is very probable money was collected for this purpose; and, perhaps, the men were determined to shew some distinguishing mark of supremacy on Monday, knowing that, by the usage of Hoketyde, they were to be publicly subordinate to their wives on the Tuesday.

In a book of accounts of the churchwardens of Lambeth are entries of the sums of money collected in each year at the Hoketyde season. From this book my father made transcripts, among which are the following articles:

A. D.		S.	D.
1504-1505.	Received of hokkyng money	iii	i
1515-1516.	Item of the men for oke money	v	viii
	Item of the wyffs of oke money	xv	i ob.
1516-1517.	Item for oke money of the men	v	
	Item for ooke money of the wyffs	vi	iv
1518-1519.	Item of William Elyot and John Chamberlayne for hoke money gydered in the pareys	iii	ix
	Item of the gaderynge of the churchwardens wyffes on Hoke Mondaye	viii	iii
1519-1520.	Item of the weyffes for the Hoke money	ix	xiob.
	Item gadered by the churchwardens in Hoke money	vi	
1520-1521.	Item of Hoke money	xi	iii
	Item of my Lady of Norfolk of Hoke money	xxxii	iiiob.

A. D.		Sh.	D.
1521-1522.	Item of good wyff Argall and Barow's wyffe of Ok money	vi	viii
	Item of Bever's wyff of Oke money	xiii	iv
	Item in Hoke money of the men	iii	viii
	Item of the women of Oke money	v	viob.
1522-1523.	Item of Oke money that the women gathered	x	
	Item of Oke money that the men gathered	iii	iv
1554-1555.	Item gatheryd at Hoktyde in the said yere	xxi	vii
1555-1556.	Item gathered at Hoktyde	xxii	ii
1556-1557.	Item of Godman Rundell's wife, Godman Jackson's wife, and Godwife Tegg for Hoxce money by them received to the use of the church	xii	

From these extracts it is evident that the wives were more assiduous, or more fortunate in their collections, than their husbands, or that they allotted to pious uses a greater portion of the money they had received.

THAT an holiday kept on Tuesday in the second week after Easter could have no relation to an event which happened on a Friday November 13th, has been suggested as a reason why the Hoketyde could not be a commemoration of the massacre of the Danes in 1002 [7]. But, were there not other insur-

[7] Dufresne, *Glossar. ad verbum Hokeday.* According to Hume, in his History of England, St. Brice's day fell on a Sunday, and that being the day of the week on which the Danes used to bathe themselves, he says, the day was chosen on that account. It is, however, a mistake, for D, as Dufresne has observed, was the dominical letter in 1002, and consequently the surmise of the historian is groundless.

mountable difficulties, I should not lay much stress upon this objection; because we meet with frequent changes of the days of annual festivals, and by authority. In episcopal registers many licences are entered for altering the dedication feasts of parish churches; and the pleas urged by the persons who solicited these indulgences were, that either the work or the weather of the seasons rendered the days originally appointed inconvenient or hazardous, or that they could not be duly observed, and with a becoming reverence, from their interfering with celebrities of a different class.

St. Michael's day being the feast of the dedication of the church of Lamberhurst in Kent, a time of the year when the overflowing of the river was common, it was, on that account, transferred by the bishop of Rochester to the Tuesday following reliet Sunday, i. e. to the Sunday fortnight after Midsummer day [1].

As the feast of the dedication of Mereworth church was wont to be solemnized on the *fourth of June*, the moveable feasts of Pentecost &c. prevented a due celebration of it, therefore it was removed to the Monday next after the feast of the exaltation of the holy cross [1].

Woolwich church dedication feast was a long time held on the vigil of St. Laurence; but this falling in the time of autumn, and often *on a day of fasting and abstinence*, the day was changed to the fifth of October [1].

St. Lambard's day (August 13) the feast of the dedication of Ryerth church happening frequently *in the Ember days* (in diebus ignis temporum) and also in harvest, the bishop ordered

[1] Registrum Roffense, p. 459.

[1] Reg. Roff. p. 499.

[x] Ibid. p. 696.

that it should be kept on the translation of St. Martin in the summer, which was July 4th [w].

THESE instances concern indeed parochial festivals, that were more immediately under the controul of the bishop, but we may conclude that similar regulations would be made as to national holidays; and whether established by the state, or instituted by private persons, and afterwards generally observed, because designed to perpetuate the memorial of some joyful public event, care would be taken, that, if accompanied with many sports and excesses, they should not be kept on a Sunday, or at a season set apart for fasting and mortification.

ONE part of the objection to Hokeday's being a commemoration of the slaughter of the Danes on St. Brice's day is urged against the notion of its having any allusion to the death of Hardicanute. For what connexion, it is asked, can an occurrence on the 8th of June have with the Quindena Paschæ, which must always happen in April, or early in May? To which question it may be answered that as the Hoketyde was a time of diversions and licentiousness, when the 8th of June fell on a Sunday, the keeping of it on that day would not have been allowed; and, as when Easter was late, the 8th of June was likely to be one of the Ember days in the Pentecost week (a fast to be strictly observed by people of all ranks [x]), the pro-

[w] Not June 4, as by an error in Reg. Roff. p. 598.

[x] By the canons of archbishop Cuthbert, A. 747, 18, it was constituted, that none neglect the times of the fasts, that is, of the 4th, 7th, and 10th months. Johnson's Eccles. Laws. A council in 1002 directs the second fast on the second week of June, if the first day of June fall on a Wednesday, or any day in the week before Wednesday, else in the third week; but if Whitfund eve fall in this week, then the next to be Ember week. The council of Clement, A. 1095, ordered the second fast to be in Whitfund week. Ibid. Ecbright's Answers, A. 734, 16, not. g.

hibition would also have been extended to that season. This appears to have been a sufficient reason for the removal of the Hoketyde from June to the second week after Easter. But though there would be a necessity for changing the month, it might not be at all requisite to vary the day of the week. Now Hardicanute is mentioned to have died on *Tuesday* (*feria iii**) the 6th of the ides of June [*y*], and it has been shewn that *Tuesday* was the Hokeday; a coincidence, as I conceive, which adds a degree of probability to my surmise concerning the origin of this feast.

CIRCUMSTANCES rather accidental than of any material consequence have given names to national holidays. As it was by the casting of lots that Haman determined the time of his intended destruction of the Jews, and Purim being the Persian word for a lot, the Jews thus denominated the feast of their deliverance. And, in their observance of it, they indulge themselves in drinking even to intoxication, because it was at a banquet (as they say), that Esther made the heart of Ahasuerus merry, and inclined the king to grant her request in favour of her countrymen [*x*]. Themistocles having from the sight of cocks fighting seized the occasion of inspiring the soldiers whom he was conducting to attack the Persians, and success being the consequence of their gallant behaviour, a festival was established by the Athenians in memory of this incident, and styled from it *Ἀλεκτρυονῶν ἑορτή* [*y*]. By the contrivance of some female slaves an opportunity was offered to the Romans to defeat an army of the Gauls: an annual festival was appointed to

[*x*] Simeon Dunelm. X. Script. col. 181. 44. Diceto 474. 56. Brompton 954. 24.

[*y*] Prideaux, *Connexion of Sacred and Profane History*, v. I. p. 250.

[*z*] *Archæologia*, v. III. p. 137.

commemorate

commemorate this event, and as the signal shewn by Attila of the proper time for surprizing the enemies camp was a lighted torch held in a fig-tree, the Romans denominated this feast *nona caprotina*. At its celebration the female slaves were permitted to appear in a different drets from what they usually wore, and they exhibited a mock fight with stones and slaves imitative of the part they took in the conflict [b].

If the meaning of Hoketyde could be ascertained, that might then be a step gained towards fixing the rise of this celebrity. Several derivations of the word have been proposed, and not one of them as yet deemed satisfactory. Lambard imagined it to be a corruption of *hucxtyde*, and to signify the time of scorning and mocking; of which definition few have approved. And if contumely and derision had been chiefly aimed at, it is more likely that the feast would have been called *Lourdaine* as that he tells us continued in his time to be the bye-word of reproach, instead of *Lord Dane*; a title of dignity with which the English complimented the Danes during their ascendancy.

MR. BRYANT gives the preference to *Hock*, *highb*, and apprehends that Hockday means no more than a high day. Very cautious ought I to be in insinuating a difference in opinion from a person so conversant as my much esteemed friend is universally allowed to be in the science of etymology, and who has so happily developed many words used in a very dark and remote antiquity. But, with due deference to his superior judgement, is not the generality of this interpretation of Hoketyde an objection to it? And as it was doubtless in an age of extreme superstition when the holiday commenced, and acquired this appellation; supposing it to denote a high festival, should we not

[b] Macrobii Saturnal. lib. i. p. 205, & Rosini Antiq. Roman. corpus cum notis Dempsteri, p. 114. 289.

expect to find it applied to a sacred, rather than to a civil anniversary, perhaps to commemorate the birth or the martyrdom of some greatly venerated saint?

ETYMOLOGY being so often grounded upon mere conjecture has induced several wholly to reject it on account of its uncertainty. But it ought surely to carry some weight in the scale of evidence, when there is found to be as little variation and corruption in a word as can reasonably be supposed to have happened in a course of many centuries; and when the modern usage of it bears a manifest allusion to what appears to have been a primary signification, and points to an historical occurrence that has been so long perpetuated by it. Upon this principle, Sir Henry Spelman's derivation of Hocday from the German word *Hocken* will perhaps be found not very far from the truth. "Vulgari tamen (remarks that learned writer) nomini bene "convenit hodiernus celebrandi ritus; nam cum *Hocken* idem "sit Germanice, quod *obsidere, cingere, incubare*: alii in hac celebritate alios obsident, capiunt, ligant (præsertim viros foeminae) atque inde, binding Tuesday, i diem Martis ligatoriam appellant." Might not, however, this humorous frolic on binding Tuesday have a retrospect to, as (like the May day sports of later times) it was possibly often followed by, that fast binding of the sexes till death do them part? and supposing there may not be any authority for *Hocken's* being directly used by the Germans to signify a wedding; do not the three explanatory words employed by Spelman describe the whole process of the nuptial tie—*courtship*—the ceremony and consummation? But without insisting upon this metaphorical climax in the definition of *Hocken*, there is in the Teutonic language, a word for marriage that seems to bear a closer affinity to Hocktyde; and that is *Hochzeit*, which, according to Bailey's Dic-

tionary, is particularly applied to a wedding feast, and to this day the German word for a wedding is *Hochzeit*.

As it was then at the celebration of the feast at the wedding of a Danish lord Canute Prudan with lady Githa, the daughter of Osgot Clape a Saxon nobleman, that Hardicanute died suddenly; our ancestors had certainly sufficient grounds for distinguishing the day of so happy an event by a word denoting the wedding feast, the wedding day, the wedding Tuesday. And if the justness of this conjecture shall be allowed, may not that reason be discovered, which Spelman says he could not learn, why the women bore rule on this celebrity, for all will admit, that, at a wedding, the bride is the queen of the day?

HOKETIDE might be the appellation chosen, whether the death of Hardicanute at this nuptial entertainment was accidental or premeditated; and, in the latter case, if Githa was only reputed to have been an instrument in a conspiracy against the king's life. Though, when the decease of a person in this high station is sudden and opportune, it is not uncommon too hastily to attribute it to some act of violence, yet many instances there certainly have been of the unjustifiable use of the dagger or the bowl for dispatching princes, even in ages and nations more enlightened and less civilized than the English were in the eleventh century. To free a people from the power of a tyrant is one of the pleas advanced for assassinating a man who is beyond the reach of all legal penalties; and another is, the vindication of the right of a lawful sovereign by dethroning an usurper. The dominion of the Danes had long been extremely galling and oppressive; and Hardicanute, among other rigorous measures, had rendered himself odious to the nation by reviving the Danegelt; in the exaction of which tax, not many months before his death, he had been guilty of a most wanton act of cruelty

cruelty by burning the city of Worcester, and endeavouring to exterminate the inhabitants, because two of his collectors had been accidentally killed in a fray. That he might himself therefore fall a victim to the indignation and resentment of some of his subjects; who could not but have a predilection for the royal Saxon line, is no very improbable supposition.

POLYDORE Vergil says [c], that while Hardicanute sat drinking at a feast in Lambeth, he suddenly fell and died, *non sine suspitione sumpti veneni*, not without a suspicion of being poisoned. He might have his information as to this particular from traditional report, at least, I have not met with any preceding historian who has mentioned it. The phrase in Rudborne is, that Hardicanute went the way of all flesh [d]; and in Aildred's life of Edward the Confessor [e], and in the annals of the church of Winchester [f], the death of his predecessor is only termed premature. In William of Malmesbury [g], and the Chronicle of John Abbot of Peterborough [h], the expression is, that Hardicanute died *subito inter pocula*, suddenly at a drunken revel. But Knighton [i], Brompton [k], Diceto [l], and Simeon of Durham [m] are more circumstantial in their narrations. The three former seem to have nearly copied from the author last mentioned who wrote his history about a century after the Conquest. His relation is, *dum in convivio, in quo Osgodus Clapa magnæ vir potentiæ filiam suam Gitba Danico et præpotenti viro Tovio Prudan cognomento, in loco qui dicitur Lambithæ, magna cum lætitia tradebat nuptui lætus, sospes, et bylaris*

[c] P. 179.

[e] X Script. col. 375.

[g] De gest. reg. Angl. p. 43.

[i] X Script. col. 2328.

[l] Ibid. col. 474.

[d] Hist. Mag. Winton, Ang. Sac. I. p. 236.

[f] Ang. Sac. I. p. 290.

[h] Edit. by Sparke, p. 40.

[k] Ibid. col. 934.

[m] Ibid. col. 179.

cum sponsa prædicta et quibusdam viris bibens staret, repente inter bibendum miserabili casu ad terram corruit, et sic mutus permanens VI idus Junii feria III expiravit. That "at the wedding feast, where Hardicanute, joyful, in health and merry, stood drinking with the bride, and several men, whilst drinking, by a lamentable accident he fell to the ground, and so remained speechless till he expired."

THE compiler of the Saxon Chronicle, a contemporary, if not an earlier writer than Simeon of Durham, is very concise upon the subject; for he only notices the year and the day of the death of Hardicanute. But, after mentioning the election of Edward to be king, he adds "healþe þa hpile þe him Loð unne," *he reigned as long as God permitted him* [n]. No similar expression is used, as I believe, by this writer on relating the accession of any other king. And do not the words convey an idea of his concealing some circumstance which it might not be adviseable to assert in direct terms? Do they not imply an

[n] As Canute married queen Emma (according to the Saxon Chronicle) in July 1017, Hardicanute, at the time of his death, might be about 24 years old; and it should seem from his name that he was of a robust constitution. In Gibbon's edition he is said to have died in 1041, but at note (q) it is corrected 1042, with which date Simeon of Durham's history truly corresponds: for it is agreed that he died on Tuesday June the 8th, and C being the dominical letter in that year, Sunday was the 6th of the month. The latter author with the like minuteness and accuracy relates that the king's collectors of the Danegelt were killed at Worcester 3 non. Maii feria 2, i. e. on Monday May the 4th 1041, and D being the dominical letter that year, the third of May was on a Sunday. The mistake of a year is carried on in the Saxon Chronicle's account of the coronation of Edward the Confessor, which he says was *die Paschatis tert. non. April*. This however could not be in 1042, but it was so in 1043, when Easter day happened on the third of April. Rapin, Innet, Hume, Smollet, and Henry, have, in their respective Histories of England, mentioned 1041 as the year of the death of Hardicanute.

insinuation, that the predecessor of Edward had not been suffered to reign to the natural period of his life?

IT was proper to state the accounts given by our historians of the cause of Hardicanute's death; and though I will not obtrude an opinion upon this event, I cannot forbear observing, that the consequences of it, with respect to the Danes, and to the steps taken to fix Edward upon the throne, are left very obscure and perplexed by the monkish writers [o]. In the Saxon Chronicle it is said, that before Hardicanute was buried, all the people elected Edward to be king at London; and yet, according to the annals of the church of Winchester (the compiler of which was likely in this particular to be well informed), it is asserted, *post mortem Hardicanuti venit Wintoniam, incognitus plebeis amictus habitu, quandoque in curia matris, quandoque in domo episcopi comedens, sed ignotus affectus eorum sedulus explorabat*, that, "after the death of Hardicanute, Edward came "to Winchester, disguised in a mean dress, eating sometimes "in the palace of his mother, and sometimes at the bishop's "house, but unknown, and assiduously exploring the affections of the people [p]." But to whatever cause the death of Hardicanute may be attributed, it unquestionably occasioned a revolution so very fortunate for England, as to afford a competent reason for instituting, by general consent, a yearly joyful commemoration of it. And I am inclined to imagine, that the long tradition of the Hokeday's having a reference to a deliverance from the Danes, whose domination was considered as an

[s] See Milton's History of England, p. 109; and Rapin's History, vol. I. p. 130.

[p] Angl. Sacr. v. I. p. 290. Holinshed, upon the authority of some writers, has advanced that Edward was in Normandy when Hardicanute died. Chron. vol. I. p. 168.

Egyptian bondage [9], its being celebrated on the day of the week when a perpetual deliverance was effected, and the vulgar appellation of it denoting the kind of convivial feast at which the deliverance happened, conjointly furnish a presumptive proof of its origin.

Ross, as before mentioned, seems to be the first historian, who has noticed Hoxtuifday's being a festival kept for a memorial of the death of Hardicanute; and though the word Hokeday is to be met with in other historians, we cannot collect from their manner of expressing themselves, that it was even a day of festivity and mirth. One reason for their silence might be, their thinking an explanation needless, from its being a day universally observed; and because not a person in their times could be supposed ignorant of the joyful occurrence commemorated. We are therefore principally indebted to tradition for the knowledge we have of a festival so highly regarded by our ancestors: and the rights and usages of a nation, particularly their holidays and their sports, which are most interesting to the common people, are generally found to be not unfaithfully transmitted by this channel.

WHILST tracing the origin of Hoketyde, I hoped to have received some additional light from a publication of late much canvassed, and within the compass of a few pages of which the word is more frequently to be read than in any other book I have seen, wherein the subject has not been professedly examined: I mean the two parts of the battle of Hastings in Rowley's Poems. But, whilst it is contested, whether all, or any of them, were written in the fifteenth century, and only reno-

[9] Cnutone rebus humanis exempto, filiisque ejus immatura morte præreptis, Angli Danico jugo quasi ab Ægyptia servitute liberata, beatum Edwardum in regem elegerunt. Ailredus de vita Edwardi.

vated, modernized and embellished by Chatterton, as some of Chaucer's Poems were by Dryden, or were entirely fabricated by that unfortunate youth, and supposing him to have been the sole author, till it shall be determined where he acquired his facts, and the ancient circumstances alluded to, the poems could not be cited as evidence. However, though debarred from availing myself of them, in order to ascertain the historical event I have been endeavouring to investigate, a few remarks upon the lines in which the word Hoketyde occurs, or which seem to bear any reference to my subject cannot be deemed altogether impertinent.

Verses 31—38 of the battle of Hastings, N° 1. are as follow :

King Harrolde turnynge to hys leegemen spake,
 My merrie men, be not caste downe in mynde
 Your onlie lode for aye to mar or make
 Before yonne sonne has donde his welke, you'll fynde
Your lovyng wife, who erst dyd rid the londe
Of lurdenes, and the treasure that you han,
 Wyll fall into the Normanne robbers hondē,
 Unless with honde and harte you plaie the manne..

AN explanation was desired in the Gentleman's Magazine of the aboye lines, and particularly of the words printed in Italics, *your lovyng wife* &c. but no satisfactory answer was given by any of Mr. Urban's learned contributors who were pleased to favour them with their attention [r]. D. H. a very frequent as well as knowing correspondent, conceived the poet to have no better foundation for this allusion than the story told by the warders of the women's weapons preserved in the armoury in the Tower, with which in one night they cut the throats of 35,000 Danes no body knows when. Others imagined, and

[r] Vol. LIII. 1783. p. 212. 231. 331.

one

one of them was confident, that the passage must refer to the vulgar tradition of the women's joining in Etheldred's massacre of the Danes. If this was the only ground the poet had, he was not quite lucky in his application of the story; because Harold, in his exhortation, was made to affirm what many of his leegemen as well as their prince must know to have been untrue, that their land was rid of the Lurdanes by a scheme as impolitic as it was savage. If the poet's meaning was, that the absolute freedom of England from the Danish tyranny, which really happened forty years after, was owing to the machination, or the spirit of a wife, I should readily quote so strong a case in point for supporting my notion, would the authority be allowed. But, as I suspect it will not, it may be prudent to follow the advice of one of Mr. Urban's correspondents, "to let those engaged in the controversy about the genuineness of these poems determine how Chatterton came by the knowledge of this tradition."

HOCKTYDE is twice mentioned in the first part of the battle of Hastings, which Chatterton said he wrote himself, and as often in the second, which he said was written by Rowley. I will transcribe the lines referred to.

Nº 1. v. 25. As when two bulles destynde for *Hocktyde* fight
Are yoked by the necke within a sparre &c.

348. As mastie dogs at *Hocktide* set to fyghte.

Nº 11. v. 412. Brown as the nappy ale at *Hocktyde* game.

574. The Saxonne warryor that did so entwyne
Lyke the nesh bryon and the eglantine
Orre Cornyshe wraistlers at a *Hocktyde* game.

WHETHER the poet, or poets rather, as far as Chatterton's testimony may be relied on, thought there was any connexion between the expulsion of the Danes and the Hocketyde games is not

not clear; but this may be presumed to have been the idea of the writer of the first part, because the verses of Harold's address to his army, in which he notices the wife's ridding the land of Lurdanes, so quickly follow the simile of the two bulls in the Hocktyde fight. But the chief question is, whether the diversions of this festival specified by the poet were entirely of his own invention, or mentioned in print or in a MS. or founded on oral tradition. That the English then regaled themselves with the best nappy ale they could procure can hardly be doubted; and, though a custom more honoured in the breach than the observance, it is not improbable, that, like the Jews at their feast of Purim, they might more freely indulge in liquor out of compliment to the day, because the tyrant, whose death they commemorated, expired *inter pocula*, in his cups. It may be also supposed that the fighting of dogs and of bulls, and the wrestling of Cornish men, were some of the Hoketyde sports. These therefore might be "some of the poetical or imaginary" assertions of Chatterton; or he might have learnt these circumstances from the discovered parchments of humble prose, "containing historical or local memoirs in Cannyng's collection of MSS." One may, however, venture almost to affirm that no such copious detail of the Hoketyde games is to be traced in any printed History or Glossary.

So magnificent, costly, and gay, was the feast kept by Hardicanute on the marriage of his sister Gunilda to the emperor of Germany; that, as William of Malmesbury relates, when he wrote his history, it was wont to be the subject of songs in the streets [1]. And, according to Matthew of Westminster, even in his time, the players and the minstrels celebrated the same with vocal and instrumental music at private entertainments

[1] Page 43.

M m

and in taverns [t]. The wedding feast at which this king died was certainly an incident of much greater importance to the English nation; and, if the Hokytyde was a commemoration of it, it might reasonably have been concluded, that, among the merriments there were songs, if not dramatic interludes, referring to the history of the day, had Dugdale not informed us of there being a play called *Hocks Tuesday*, which the men of Coventry exhibited before queen Elizabeth at Kenelworth Castle [u].

NUMBERLESS are the supposed imitations, verbal and literal, of the modern poets attributed to Chatterton. It is, however, imagined that he cannot be detected in having borrowed the term *Hokytyde* from any verses known to be extant, there being great reason to believe, that the word is not to be discovered in

[t] Page 413.

[u] Dugdale had adopted the general opinion of the Hokytyde's being a celebration of the massacre of the Danes by Etheldred, for thus he expresses himself, "that there might nothing be wanting that these parts could afford, hither came the Coventree men, and acted the ancient play long since used in that city called *Hocks Tuesday*, setting forth the destruction of the Danes in king Etheldred's time, with which the queen was so well pleased, that she gave them a brace of bucks and five marks." Warw. first edition, p. 116. In the enquiry into the authenticity of Rowley's poems, p. 35, Mr. Warton has remarked "that representations of religious subjects were only fashionable in the reign of Edward the Fourth, and that these exclusive of the subject by no means resembled what we called a play." The subject of the *Hocks Tuesday* play must have been *historical* and *civil*, and if the words long since used may be carried back a century, the *Hocks Tuesday* play acted by the men of Coventry will be an exception to the general observation of the ingenious learned writer. A correspondent in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1777, p. 363, is of the same opinion with Mr. Warton, for he thus expresses himself: "At the time when Rowley is supposed to have written, scarcely the rudest attempts of the drama (*none* indeed but those scriptural interludes, termed *Mysteries*,) had been made."

any poet from Shakspeare to Gray [w]. Whether Chatterton was so fortunate as to find the Coventry Hocks Tuesday play, or any Hoketyde ballad in the famous Redcliffe chest, may now be a fruitless enquiry.

Ross's history, the churchwarden's book of Lambeth, and Lambard's perambulation concur in shewing that the Hokeday was generally observed till after the commencement of the sixteenth century; Sir Henry Spelman says it was not quite disused in his time, and Dr. Plot has noticed some vestiges of it fifty years later; but, as far as I can learn, it is now obsolete.

It is not unlikely that the Hoketyde declined fast soon after the Reformation; and that a festive season on account of a deliverance from the Danish yoke, of a very ancient date, was succeeded by joyful commemorations of a release from the bondage of Popery, so recently accomplished, and so momentous to the people of that age. The anniversary of the marriage of the daughter of a Saxon nobleman, however advantageous it might have proved to the nation above five hundred years before, would of course yield to a celebration of the anniversary of the birth, or of the coronation of a reigning queen, by whose policy and spirit her subjects had been freed from superstitious slavery. And in the next reign, the discovery and prevention of a plot formed for subverting the government, by destroying the king and the two other branches of the legislature, occasioned the establishment by law of the fifth of November for a yearly day of thanksgiving to perpetuate the memory of that deliverance.

MONEY, as has been observed, was collected at Hoketyde for pious uses; and whilst Popery prevailed, it may be inferred, that a part of it was *superstitiously* applied. I the rather incline to

[w] Dr. Johnson has not inserted the word *Hoketyde* in his Dictionary.

this interpretation of the word, from finding in the church books of Lambeth the gatherings for Hokeday entered with the sums collected for the Sepulchre, the Paschal, the Virgil, the St. George's lights, and the light before the Rood; but, after the Reformation, contributions for these and similar purposes were at an end. Dr. Plott says, that one of the uses of the Hoketyde money was the reparation of the churches of the several parishes, which is confirmed by the last extract relative to it made by my father from the Lambeth book. This mode of raising money was probably soon discontinued, as being insufficient for necessary repairs and becoming decorations; and to the small and uncertain voluntary gifts of the parishioners succeeded a compulsive regular assessment upon all the inhabitants and occupiers of land.

THE largest Hokeday collection at Lambeth was in 1521, when the lady of Norfolk condescended to have the gathering made in her name; and in the following year, the parishioners, with equal success, availed themselves of the influence of the dutchess of Norfolk (who I conceive to be the same person) in procuring gifts towards the support of the virgin light.

SUPPOSING the abolition of the government of the Danes in England to have been the cause of the Hokeday celebrity, its being thus attentively noticed in this parish will not appear in the least surprizing, when it is considered, that the wedding feast which proved fatal to Hardicanute was kept at Lambeth.

SAM. DENNE.

XXX. *A Letter from Governor Pownall to the Reverend Michael Lort, D. D. V. P. A. S. inclosing Mr. Ledwich's Letter on the Ship-Temples in Ireland.*

Read May 27, 1784.

Bath, April 27, 1784.

SIR,

IN the course of my [a] researches after the nature, character, and manners of those ancient northern Pirates [b] the *Vics* or *Wicks*, called by the British *FVicks*, by the Saxon *Pbeachs* and *Wights*, by the Romans *Viethi* and *Viethones*, and by those of the latter Empire *Piethi*; I was inquisitive to trace their *metaphysical* notions about the state and the supposed beings, of an existence in a metaphysical world, derobed of gross matter. This inquiry, as it trained through the operations of very exalted, though not quite civilized minds, led me, or seemed to lead, to the primary ideas which formed their character; led me to see the spring of their principles, and the source of many of their customs; led me to understand the effect of superstition, as actuated by their Theology; led me to see the reference of their allusions in their poetry, and in their religious notions; and finally led me, though it may seem singular, yet by a natural deduc-

[a] These are contained in the Second Part of my Treatise of the Study of Antiquities, not yet published.

[b] The word *Pirate* is not here to be understood as a term for an outlawed robber, neither acknowledging nor using, in any degree, the law of nations. Such as it was, these rovers had their form of government; such as they were, these pirates had and observed the laws of nations.

tion, to what I apprehend to be a clear explanation of a superstition scarce yet eradicated from the imagination of their posterity, the notion of a supernatural *second sight*.

THE chief application, however, of the knowledge which I supposed myself to have obtained in these matters, has been to the explanation of some of their monuments of antiquity, which had not as yet received any explanatory description.

My description of the great *Pyramid* at New-Grange, in Ireland, was the first exemplar which I gave to our society: and my account of the monument at Dundalk, called a *Ship-temple* given to the Society of Antiquaries in Dublin, was the second. The description of these raised the curiosity of the Antiquaries in Ireland. Nothing similar to the first hath as yet been discovered. Some other exemplars of monuments similar to the last have been now lately, in consequence of my account, remarked. I had notice from Mr. Ledwich of one in the county of Mayo: I begged to have a plan, drawing, and description of it, which he hath at length obtained for me [c]. I send it, Sir, to you, for the amusement of the Society of Antiquaries: and I give it just as I receive it from my ingenious and learned correspondent, annexing by way of notes or commentary some of my own ideas on the subject. The account is contained in the following copy of Mr. Ledwich's letter to me.

“ *Maryborough, Ireland, March 27, 1784.*

“ SIR,

“ I am very happy to be able at length to inclose you a drawing of the antiquity I so long ago mentioned to you. My learned friend, Mr. Beauford, informed me he had received a notice from a correspondent of such a curiosity being in the county of Mayo. After much delay, occasioned by distance and various interruptions, the enclosed was sent with every assurance of exactness. I mention these circumstances, that no

[c] See Pl. xix.

“ error

“error (if any such there be) in the following account may be imputed to Mr. Beauford or me.”

“This is the account transmitted with the drawing.

“On a conical *isole* hill about two miles from the Mullet, on the western coast of the county of Mayo, stands a very ancient and curious monument in good preservation. The walls are two feet thick, and formed of courses of welljointed stones, but without cement. Their elevation to the roofing is seven feet; the length of the room fifteen feet; the breadth unequal, the ground plan forming a curvilinear triangle. The door placed on one side is constituted of three large stones, two converging uprights with an impost. The roof is made with large flag-stones with a grassy covering. There is no tradition respecting it. The natives call it [c], *Leabha na Fatbach*, or the Giants Bed.”

“EVERY particular about this structure proclaims its antiquity. The conical shape of the room is not easily accounted for[d]. Did each extremity terminate in an apex, I should find no difficulty in calling it a Ship-temple; and such, before the drawing arrived, both Mr. Beauford and I believed it to be.

[c] The humour of converting heroes into Giants, is natural to the half civilized ideas of ancient nations: nor is it totally un-descriptive of the persons. But the fact here is the word *Gigar*, analysed by strict and fair analogy is *Vic*, *GWic* or *Wigb* as pronounced by modern language. The element at the beginning of this word is an aspirated labial pronounced as a *W* or Suiö gothick *Y* aspirated by the Scotch *G*, which different nations pronounced differently, and the British in particular, as a *V* aspirated with an *F*. whence these *Vics* were with them *FVics*, and *Fiöiad*.

[d] The plan of this monument exhibits, on the contrary, what I take to be the precise section of one of these ancient Schipps: boats exactly of this form are used in the west to this day, and there is one of this very shape, loaded with gardeners and garden hampers, paddling under my window at this very moment.



“Your

“ Your extensive knowledge may possibly enable you to remove
 “ this objection. It has been suggested, that it was an Hermi-
 “ tage : I myself have seen many in the Isles of Scotland, and
 “ not a few on the south-west coast of this kingdom, but not
 “ one of this shape. They are always squares or parallelo-
 “ grams ; of the latter form is St. Keivin’s bed, in the county of
 “ Wicklow, cut out of the living rock.

“ THIS antiquity seems to me to approach nearest to the
 “ Picts houses, described by Mr. Pope in Pennant’s Tour, Part
 “ I. p. 318. the walls without cement, and the flags covering
 “ exactly agree, but then *they* are always round, and never to-
 “ tally closed in above[*e*].

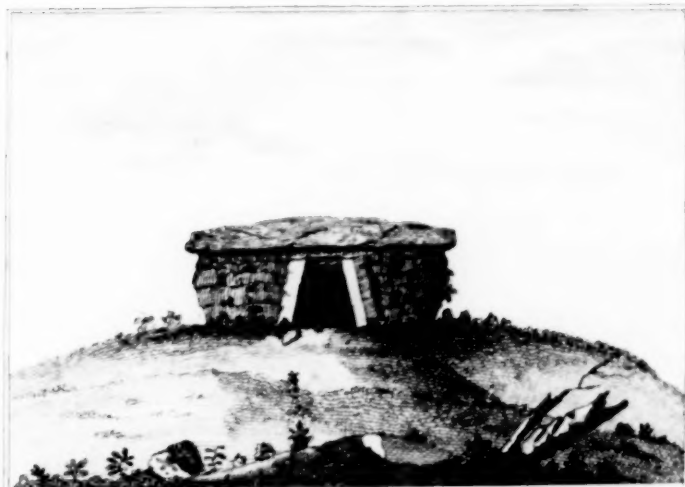
“ If you should be inclined to think it a non-descript species
 “ of Ship-temple, what think you of the following ?

“ TACITUS (De morib. Germ. 644.) speaking of the Sueiones,
 “ says, [*f*] *forma navium eò differt, quod utrinque prora paratam sem-*
 “ *per appulsui frontem agit.* Which seems to indicate that their
 “ boats were of one shape, probably sharp at each end, like the
 “ Indian canoes, and therefore the easier to run up on a shore ;
 “ whereas, had their sterns been square, this could not be so safely
 “ effected. This quotation is cited by Mr. Macpherson, as a proof
 “ that the British boats were sharp, when Tacitus probably men-
 “ tions it as a construction peculiar (*eò differt*) to the Sueiones ;
 “ and by no means as a general form common to the other bar-

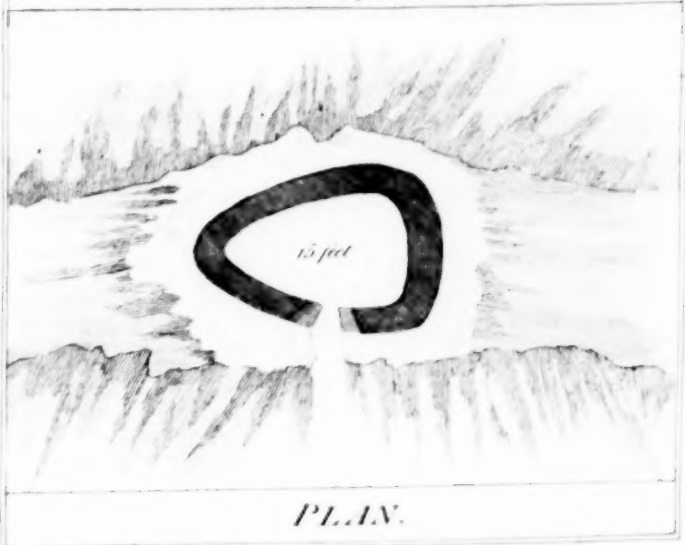
[*e*] I am sorry to differ here from my ingenious correspondent. I should not, if the things themselves did not differ *toto caelo*. Neither do I conceive this to be a *Ship-Temple*, but a *Vies Naval Monument*.

[*f*] The reason of the double-prowed vessels of these Sueiones was derived from the circumstances in which they were used. They were used to run in amidst *Flies* and *Vliets*, wherein they had not room to turn. Their form was peculiar to their peculiar navigation ; and therefore they were no models for vessels used in other situations—They were a species of *Flyboats*, and not fit for long ships and sea-vessels.

“ barous



ELEVATION 7 feet inside.



PLAN.

The Mayan Temple in Maye.

“barous nations he enumerates. The internal evidence arising
“from this distinction is equal to direct proof, and to me de-
“monstrates, that the Sueiones were behind the other Nor-
“therns in naval architecture, as the square or round stern was
“the better constructed for portage, and being decked for war
“or any other use. Homer very accurately marks the poop
“where chief warriors stood.

“Νηὶ παρὰ πρύμνῃ μεγαθύμῳ Πρωτοσίλῳ—Iliad Π. v. 286.

“Agreeable to this πρυμνὰν κρέσασθαι in Pollux is to conquer the
“ship. Besides, on the poop of the ship stood the Lararium, which
“could scarcely be the case, if it was sharp as the prow. Leaving
“this for your more ingenious investigation, I am fortunate in
“being able to supply you with the most curious extract extant,
“and the most antient, of a ship-temple [g].

“There are some, says Procopius, who think that the ship made of
white stone, which is to be seen on the Phœacian shore, is that in which
Ulysses was carried to Ithaca, after he had been hospitably received by
the Phœnicians. This ship is not formed out of one stone, but of many;
and it has an inscription plainly shewing that some merchant of that
country did in former times place this monument to Jupiter Castus;
the Deity which these people formerly worshiped. To this day the
city in which the ship stood is called Cassiope. In the same manner is
that ship formed of many stones which Agamemnon, the son of Atreus,

[g] Τὸ πλοῖον αἰεὶ ἐπὶ ἐν γῇ τῇ Φαιακίῃ ἐκ λίθων λευκῶν ποικιλομένων παρὰ τὴν ταύτην
ἐκλήν ἔστιν ἐκείνη· τινὲς ἔναι τὴν ναὺν εἶναι ἢ τὸν Ὀδυσσεύα ἐς τὴν Ἰθάκην ἐκείμειν,
ὥσπερ ξαναγῆσθαι αὐτὸν εὐαῖθα ξυμῆ. Καὶ τοὶ δὲ μνηστέροις τὸ πλοῖον τὸτ' εἶναι, ἀλλὰ
ἐκ λίθων ὅτι μάλα πολλῶν ξυμῆσαι· καὶ γράμματα ἐν αὐτῷ ἐγκειμέναι· καὶ δια-
ρίθην ὅσα τῶν τῶν ἐμπόρων ἐν τοῖς αἰῶσι ἰδύσκειναι τὸ ἀνάθημα τῷ Διὶ τῇ Κασίῳ.
Διὰ γὰρ Κασίον ἐτίμων πόλις οἱ τῆδε ἄνθρωποι· ἐπεὶ καὶ ἡ πόλις ἐν ᾗ τὸ πλοῖον τῷτο ἔ-
κειν ἐς τὸν δὲ τὸν χρόνον Κασίῳ ἐπικαλεῖται· τῷτον δὲ τὸν τρόπον ἐκ λίθων πολλῶν καὶ
ἡ ναὺς ἐκείνη ποικίλῃ ἐν Ἀγαμέμνωνος τῇ Ἀτρείδης τῆς Εὐβοίας ἐν Γίρεσσι ἀνέθηκε τῇ Ἀρ-
τίμιδι, ἀφαισόμενος κἄν τῷτ' ἐν αὐτῇ ὕβριν, ὥσπερ δὲ τὸ τῆς Ἰφιγενείας πάθος τὸν
ἀπόπλεον ἢ Ἀθήναις ξυμῆσαι τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν. Procop. Goth. Hist. l. iv. c. 22.

placed in Geraste, a city in Eubœa, to Diana, as an expiation for the offence she had received at that time, when, in consequence of the sacrifice of Iphigenia, she suffered the Grecians to proceed on their voyage [b].”

“ You will quickly hence see the use of Ship-temples among every naval people. This valuable notice demonstrates, how many customs of ancient people are lost, and how fortunate it is for the republic of letters when ingenuity like yours throws out a hint for their recovery: for in the present instance it is literally true. If I might presume to suggest my wishes, they would be, that from the facts which you are in possession of, you would review this subject of Ship-temples, and trace it

[b] I have always thought that many facts, even in fabulous history and in poetry itself, that seem to be the most groundless, are founded in truth, and may be explained by reference to antient customs. They become incredible and ridiculous by the narratives of future ignorance; yet may be reduced to common sense and plain fact by such reference. Some *Phœachi*, or Pelasgians, or other sea-rovers, might have, according to usual ancient custom, erected this monument at Corcyra, in the form of a ship. When, then, after the occasion and the very idea of the ancient custom is lost, future ignorance comes and tells the tale of a ship metamorphos’d into stone, and putting together the word *Phœach* with the tradition of Ulysses, make it the very ship that the Phœnicians sent Ulysses home in, a poet, who like Homer, was an antiquary, would profit of this tale. And yet Homer, although in his spirit of poetry he tells the story of the Metamorphosis, describes it in such words, as that those who understand the meaning of a parable, or apologue, must see that he understood this to be only a Naval Monument in the shape of a Ship, Νηὶ Σοῇ ἱκλον, erected like our Irish Naval Monument near the Shore, as a monument for the admiration of future ages:

Θῆναι Λιβὸν ἱγυῖθι γαῖης

Νηὶ Σοῇ ἱκλον, ἵνα θαυμάζουσιν ἀπαντὶς

Ἄνθρωποι——”

Od. N. 156.

Observe how near this appellation comes to the appellation *Phœachs*, by which the Saxons called these *Vics*. The language of the original Autochthones of Greece and Thrace was the same as that of the northern nations of Europe.

“ to

“ to its origin, and illustrate it with drawings [i]. I should imagine there could not be a more curious subject proposed to the society, or one so free from hypothesis or conjecture.

“ I am Sir, &c.

(Signed)

“ S. LEDWICH.”

“ To Governor Pownall.”

If now, Sir, you think that the above paper and notes can form an evening's amusement for our Society, I send it you, that you may communicate it to them.

I am,

Sir, your obedient,

humble servant,

T. POWNALL.

[i] I am very sensible to the politeness of my ingenious correspondent's suggestion; but I find my ideas of the mode of the study of Antiquities, and of the use to be made of it, to differ so much from those of gentlemen who aim at, and possess, celebrity in this branch of literature, that I shall never engage myself further than to amuse myself and few friends.

—— *Otiosum disponere tempus,
Et veræ pariter vocare vitæ.*

XXXI. *Observations on the Alphabet of the Pagan Irish, and of the Age in which Finn and Ossin lived.* By Col. Charles Vallancey.

Read June 24, 1784.

ALL the Irish seanaches or antiquaries have seriously asserted that their Pagan ancestors had the use of an alphabetical character, called *Ogham*, that was used, not as a cipher, but as an uniform alphabet, in which all matters relating to the state, and to religion, were recorded. Hence, in late ages, this character was improperly named the *Druidical Ogham*, for Druidism was not the established religion of the Pagan Irish, as I shall explain to this Society at another time.

THE Ogham and its explanation has been handed down to us by the Irish Bards, and copied into my Irish Grammars. In the first edition, I followed such information as, at that time, I could collect, and erroneously said, that these characters were marked by certain strokes standing perpendicular to one *master-line* drawn *horizontally*; the upper part of which was named the right hand, and the lower the left hand.

FROM more ancient MSS. it has since been discovered, that the *master-line* was drawn perpendicular, and the characters marked by strokes perpendicular to it, on the right and left, a mode of

writing perfectly corresponding with that used by the *Mancheou Tartars* on the borders of China, as described by father Du Halde. This mistake is corrected in the second edition of my Grammar, printed last year, in Dublin.

SIR James Ware, an author of undoubted veracity, informs us, that he was possessed of a thick volume, written entirely in the *Ogham*. As I could not trace this volume to get a sight of it, and had never been able to discover any inscriptions on stone bearing such characters, either on altars, cromleachs, or other monuments, I concluded too hastily, that both Sir James and myself had been imposed on by modern bards, and that no such characters ever existed in Pagan times.

MR. ASTLE, in his ingenious work on the *Origin and Progress of Writing*, has given a plate of such *Oghams* as he had discovered in Irish MSS. in this kingdom. These are not all *alphabetical Ogham*. One only is ancient; some are the inventions of modern bards, but the most are scales of *Profodia*, originally drawn in circles, and from thence formed into right lines, at pleasure, to the number of 150 different scales, as fully described in an ancient MSS. in my possession. Hence arose the mistake of the modern Bards, in asserting that the ancient Irish had so many different alphabets. But, it is very remarkable, that these circular scales of *Profodia* are named *Beith-Sheire* (בית שירי) which in Chaldaic implies *domus canticorum*, and is the very appellation given to similar scales of *Profodia* by the Arabs, as may be seen at the end of the learned Dr. Pocock's *Carmen Tograti*, to which I beg leave, at present, to refer.

IN an ancient Irish MS. I found mention made of an inscription in *Ogham* on the tomb of a great Chieftan named *Conan Colgae*, said to be slain A. D. 295. As this was near two centuries before the arrival of St. Patrick in Ireland, by whom

it

it is supposed the present alphabetical character of the Irish was introduced, I spared no pains to discover the tomb of *Conàn*, but in vain, as my MSS. did not inform me where it stood.

At length, I was so lucky as to find an ancient Epic poem, describing the circumstances of the Hero's death, and the local situation of his monument; the verse in Irish runs thus,

Ni raib an laoc fraocda Conàn; an Gabra fan trean dail,

Am Beltine an blian roime; aig coine adhart na Greine.

Ro torcar an cura nar tim: abfiongail re Fianaib Finn,

Fa he do Clanab Moirne amhain; do tarla aca fan teang-
bail.

Do clòid afeart thiar bo tuaig; a cluite caointe bo diòl truaig,

'Sta ainm Oghaim air lic blaith; i sliab comh dùb Callàn.

i. e.

"THE fierce champion Conàn was not present at the bloody battle of Gabra, for on the Beltine (1st day of May) of the preceding year, the dauntless hero was murdered by the *Fiana Finn*, at an assembly met to worship the sun, being the only man of the Clan Moirne (tribe of Moirne) who happened to be at that solemnity. His lamentation was grief-exciting, his grave was dug on the north west side of the black mountain of Callàn, and his name is inscribed in Ogham on a hewn stone."

THIS worship of the sun is particularly expressed in a poem called the *Urni of Ossian*, found in the highlands of Scotland by Mr. Hill, and lately printed under the title of *Ancient Erse Poems* collected in the Highlands: the verse is supposed to be spoken by Ossian to St. Patrick.

Go beag a Cubhail chrobhnanach; is mònoran na Greine,

Gun fhios don Rìogh mhordalach; cha dreid feidhe dile do

Sgeith.

i. e.

i. e.

“ O blasphemous Cumhal, that honour you pay to the sun,
“ through ignorance of the omnipotent king, is of no more ef-
“ fect than if you worshipped your shield.”

THIS poem is evidently the composition of the early Christian monks; and in the last verse, the Finn (militia) are sent to Rome on a pilgrimage, for the bloody contest they were the cause of, at the battle of *Gabra*.

HAVING communicated the observations in the preceding part of this letter concerning Conàn's tomb to Mr. O'Flanagan, a young man of letters in the county of Clare, in which district mountain *Callàn* stands, known generally at this day by the name of *Altoir na Greine*, or the Altar of the Sun, and requesting this gentleman's assistance to discover Conàn's tomb, I had the pleasure of receiving the following letter :

Ennis, 20 Apr. 1784.

SIR,

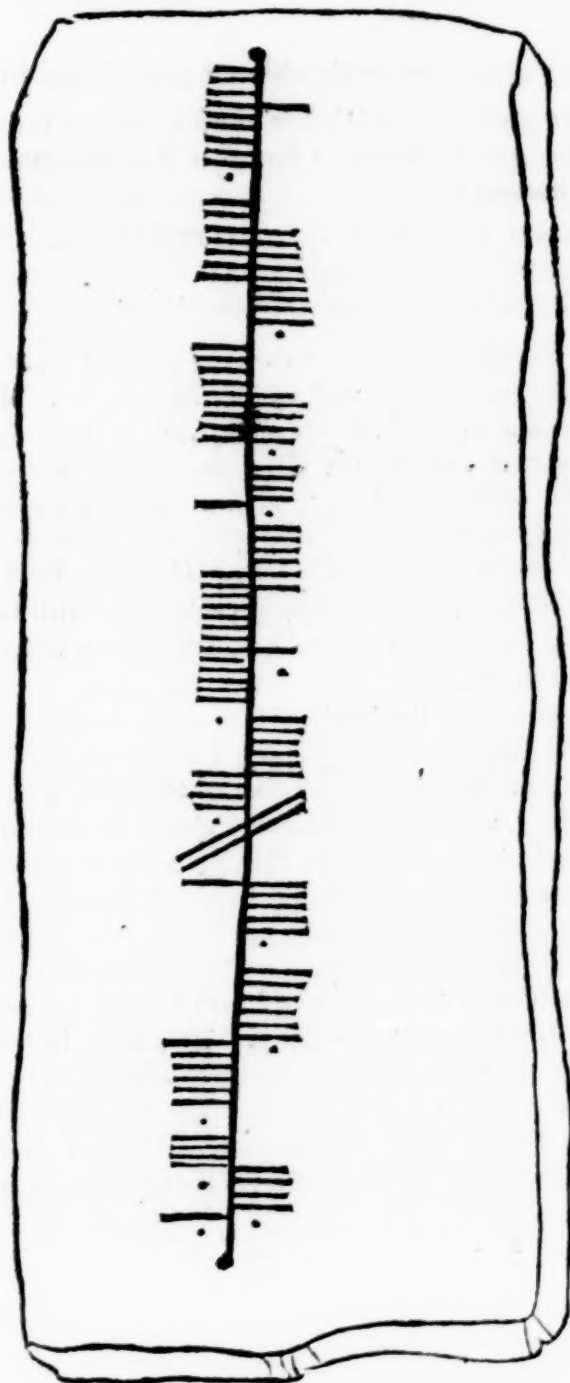
THE very laborious and praise-worthy task you have undertaken to elucidate the Pagan state of Ireland gives me room to hope the following information of Conan Colgac's tomb will be acceptable to you.

I WENT in search of the monument of antiquity so particularly pointed out by you, in company with a young man who had been my school-fellow. We proceeded to Mountain Callàn (or Altoir na Greine), about eight miles westward of the town of Ennis, and soon found a very large altar, about twelve feet by four, extending from East to West: it lies on the South side of the mountain, about half a mile distant from the high road leading from Ennis to Ibriban, on the right hand. It is constructed in the form of an oblong square of large gritty stones, covered with another stone laid horizontally, twelve feet
long

long by four broad and six inches thick. After searching very minutely for the inscription, I was much disappointed, no traces of any characters whatever appearing thereon, wherefore I returned to a peasant's cottage about a mile eastward of the mountain, in a valley between it and the opposite hill; and was informed by the peasant, that he had observed another monument on the other side of the mountain, about a mile north west of the altar, which resembled a tomb-stone, and that it had strokes engraved on it, very unlike letters.

FULLY confident that this must be the monument we sought for, he guided us to the spot; and there we found a large hewn stone of the same kind with those in the altar abovementioned: the length of the stone is between seven and eight feet, and from three to four in breadth, placed upon a kind of tumulus, with an inscription, of which the following is a fac simile representation.

By



By the rules given for the *Ogham craob* in Mac Curtin's Dictionary, and your Grammar, I decypher this inscription in the following manner :

FAN LICSI TA CONAN-COLGAC COS-FADA.

i. e.

Beneath lies Conan-Colgac the long-footed.

Be pleased to observe, Sir, that in many poems I find this hero furnamed Colgac, Maol, Malaetac, Mac Moirne, &c. He is said to be grandson of Goll-Mac-Moirne, and to have succeeded him in the command of the *Clan Moirne*: he is represented as a furious, violent, and fierce champion, of a gigantic size, and according to the annals of *Innisfallen*, after the fall of Finn-Mac-Cul (or Finn Mac Cumal), A. D. 283, at Rath Breoga, on the river Boyne, he had frequent contentions with the *Clana Baosgne*, for the captain generalship, which was at length the cause of his death.

By all our annals, the battle of Gabra was fought A. D. 296, on the following account. Cairbre Lifeacar monarch of Ireland, jealous of the overgrown power of the *Fiana Finn*, or militia of Ireland, and more particularly piqued at the desertion of their leader *Finn Mac Cumal* (or Fingall, as he is lately named) from his grandfather Art, at the battle of Maighe Macrume, A. D. 250, persecuted that body most violently. Whereupon Ossin, the son of Finn, then their leader, applied for assistance to his nephew Mogha Corb, king of *Leath Mogha*, whose mother was Saomor, the daughter of Finn. This king, having joined his forces to the *Clana Baosgne*, invaded *Leinster*, and gave battle to the monarch at a place called Gabra, near the royal palace of Tamar; in this battle the monarch and 2800 of his men fell, with most part of the celebrated *Fiana Finn*, or militia of Ireland.

I NEED not inform you, Sir, that every province in Ireland at that æra had their peculiar militia called Curaithe or Curaidhe, and were distinguished by various names, as Curaithe of the red branch, &c. &c. In the different provinces every corps had their separate captain; but when assembled together on any emergency, they were commanded by a Finn or captain-general; and the Curaithe thus assembled assumed the name of Fiana Finn, or Finne Eirin, the Finn or troops of Ireland. Finn Mac Cumal (or Finn gall), on account of his extraordinary abilities, was elected captain-general, and enjoyed that post untill his death, A. D. 283, when the contentions before recited for the captain generalship commenced, and continued till the memorable battle of Gabra A. D. 296, where the entire body was so weakened, as not to be able to make any respectable appearance ever after.

I am, Sir,

Your most devoted and most humble servant,

THEO. O'FLANNAGAN.

To Col. Vallancey, LL.D.

OBSERVATIONS.

THIS gentleman's letter clears up two desirable facts. First, That the ancient Irish had an alphabetical character before the arrival of St. Patrick. Secondly, The period in which Ossin and Finn lived.

As there is great reason to think, with that learned antiquary Mr. Lhwyd, that the Erse and Irish were the inhabitants of Britain prior to the arrival of the Cambro Britons, it is not improbable that many inscriptions in similar characters to those contained in this letter may still exist in Britain, and have been overlooked, on a supposition that they were the accidental marks

of the chissel; and at this moment a learned member of this Society, who has taken great pains to illustrate the antiquities of England, tells me, that, when he was at Kirk Braddin in the Isle of Man, he was informed, that similar characters (according to their description) had been observed on some stones brought for the repairs of the church, but the builder had turned the inscriptions to the inside of the wall, to hide their deformity.

I THEREFORE beg leave to submit to this learned body, the advantage which may arise from the publication of this letter.

WITH respect to the name Ogham, which implies a secret and sacred character, I am of opinion, that, like all other scientific words in the ancient Irish, it is of oriental origin, and that it is derived from the Chaldaic or Phœnician 𐤎𐤍𐤍 ocham. Aben Esra & Rabbi Salomon explain 𐤎𐤍𐤍 to be *arcam vel scriptorium pro recondendis scriptis et aëlis regum et principum*. R. Kimhi *lagena*, to which the learned Schaaf replies, "*nimirum decretum regis Cyri diligenter custoditum, inventum est in vase fictili, aut alius materie, ne corrumpetur.*" Some Rabbies explain the word by *vasa ænea*; others think it is the name of a town, as Achmeta, Ecbatana vulgò sic dicta, but the true and literal meaning of the word is, a *court character*, appropriated to the records of the church and state.

Of the Ogham Profodia, whence the *Hercules Ogmius* of the Gauls, I shall treat at large in a future memoir.

I now beg leave to draw the attention of this learned Society to the name of the armed militia of ancient Ireland, known by the names of Finne, Finne-Finn, and Fiana Eirin. In several ancient MSS. they are called Gillfinne: the word Gille or Giola is explained by the modern Lexiconists by *Armour-bearer*; but it originally implies the armed soldier, and was the name of a particular order of military in the ancient Per-

fian, Chaldæan and Phœnician armies. We find them mentioned in the sacred scriptures, by the names of קולפין Kulphin, and גולפין Gulphin, as in Esth. 9 and 5 whence Schaaf in his Chald. Lex. p. 31, properly says, גולפין Gulphin, armorum genus, idem putamus esse quod קולפין Kulphin, Clavæ, and from hence is borrowed the Irish family name of *Gillpin*. It was the title given to the captain general of the troops, whence the Bards have confounded the name of Finn Cul or Cul-finn, and not without propriety have denominated him Finn mac Cumal, because these troops in Ireland were always called upon to enforce the laws of the land, and to see that *cumal* or restitution was made for trespasses committed. In the Brehon laws of Ireland *cumal* always implies restitution; and in those I have perused the *cumal* was valued from three cows to twenty, according to the nature of the offence. In the Chaldaic we find גמל gomal, *retribuit bonum pro bono, et malum pro malo* (Schaaf, p. 31,) גמלא gomla, *retributio*, Italicè *remuneratione* (David de Pomis, *Dictiones externæ*). And I cannot pass over this ancient and learned author and philosopher's derivation of *Gulphin*: in the Chaldaic, גול gul, says he, signifies *vestis, toga, tunica*; and פנח phench is *custodire, servare*, Italicè *guardare*; and from this word I conclude the Irish Finn or Fiana to be derived.

I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient most humble servant,

CHA. VALLANCEY.

XXXI. *An Account of some artificial Caverns in the Neighbourhood of Bombay. By Mr. William Hunter, Surgeon in the East Indies.*

Read July 1, 1784.

IN different parts of the island of Salfette, and in the neighbourhood of that of Bombay, we meet with some most stupendous monuments of human labour and ingenuity; which would be matter of admiration in any part of the world, but must astonish us still more, when we find them in a country remarkable for the indolence of its present inhabitants. These are a set of enormous excavations, all of which are made in solid rocks, and decorated with a variety of figures, most curiously cut from the same substance with the caverns themselves. That which has principally attracted the attention of travellers is on the small island of *Elephanta*, situated in the east side of the harbour of Bombay. This island runs to a considerable height in the middle, and has a slope to the north and south, in which direction is its greatest length. Near the south end is the figure of an elephant, rudely cut in stone, from which the island has its name. The length of the body is twelve feet, the height about eight. The trunk is rolled up in a spiral form, and pretty well cut; the legs are shapeless masses of matter, out of all proportion too large, and seem intended merely as pillars to support the fabric. We must look in the same light on the tail, which

is massy, and reaches to the ground; and on a pillar, which is placed under the posterior part of the belly. On the back are the remains of something that is said to have formerly represented a young elephant, though no traces of such a resemblance are now to be found. The whole has been formed from one piece of stone; but the body is now split in two, and there are visible marks of its having been done by gun-powder. About half a mile to the northward, you are conducted by a pretty steep ascent up the side of a rock, to the door of the cave, which enters from the North. By it you are led first of all into a *feerandah*, or piazza, which extends from east to west sixty feet; its breadth from north to south is sixteen feet. In the west end is a human figure with eight arms, four on each side, united at the shoulder, one behind another. On the right the foremost arm passes across the body, and is applied to the opposite side, at that part where the inhabitants of the country usually wear their *crees* or dagger, as if about to draw it. The second is thrown out from the body, and the fore-arm has been bent, so as to come before the breast, but is broken off a very little way beyond the elbow. The humerus of the third is parallel to the former, but the fore-arm entirely broken off. The fore-arm of the fourth is bent upwards, but broken off near the wrist. The two first arms on the left side are gently bent, and hang downwards: the third supports a small female figure, and the fourth is extended above the head, to support an irregular body something like the folds of a hanging collected together. The right thigh is bent outwards, almost at right angles to the body, but broken off near the knee. The left is broken off close to the hip. This figure is surrounded by a number of smaller ones in various attitudes. In the east end is another human figure, which is now nothing more than a bust, as it only extends to the waist, and the arms are wanting. This last circumstance however is the effect of violence, for the

arms

arms bear evident marks of mutilation. Both these figures, and most of those which are to be described, wear on their heads a kind of helmet, the body of which seems to be composed of a soft substance applied very closely to the head, something in form of a turban, but of a more pyramidal shape than those worn by the inhabitants at present, and marked with inequalities which give it the appearance of a quilted stuff. In the front is a plate much like that of a grenadier's cap; and on each side appears part of another plate, which is placed on the back part of the head, and projects from behind the ears. It is ribbed like a scallop shell, and a good deal resembles (in figure though not in situation) the ruff formerly worn in England. Some of the figures in the south end of the cave have the back of their heads turned towards the spectator, so as to ascertain the form of this plate exactly, which is not the case with those which present their faces. For though all these statues are as round and prominent as the life, yet none of them are entirely detached from the sides of the rock. The two figures just now described have large massy ear-rings, and below these appear a few ringlets of hair which spread upon the shoulder. The under lip of these, as well as of the other figures, is remarkably thick.

THE body of the cave is surrounded on every side by feerandahs similar to the former. The dimensions of the cave and feerandahs are as follows:

Length of the cave from north to south	90 feet
Breadth of the south feerandah, including the niches which contain certain figures to be after described	24
Breadth of the North feerandah	16
West	16
East	16
Breadth of the cave from East to West	78

Whence

whence the whole length, including the *feerandahs* is 130 feet, and the entire breadth 110.

THE roof is supported by four rows of pillars placed at the distance of fifteen feet from each other. The base of each pillar is a square parallelopiped, three feet three inches thick, and five feet nine inches in height: on this stands a round column, five feet high, which tapers pretty fast towards the top. It is terminated by a ring, one foot and an half in thickness, which projects exactly like the cordon in a piece of fortification, and has been compared, not improperly, to a round cushion pressed flat by the weight of the superincumbent rock. Above this is another square parallelopiped, one foot high, and on the top of it a plate, nine inches thick, which projects to east and west two feet and an half beyond the top of the pillar, having its ends sloped, and cut into a moulding. Its breadth from north to south is the same with that of the pillar. Above all, there runs from east to west, over the top of the pillars, a ridge cut out from the rock, resembling a beam, about one foot in thickness. From these data, we find the whole height of the cave to be fifteen feet. The column, cordon, and upper parallelopiped (which two last form the capital) are finely fluted, and on each corner of the base, where it projects beyond the column, is placed a small figure in a sitting posture.

IN the west end of this cave is a chamber, twenty feet square, with four doors, and within it is something like a small mausoleum. This has probably been the place peculiarly consecrated to religious worship, the *sanctum sanctorum* of the cave. On each side of every door is a gigantic figure, in all eight. Their heads are decorated in much the same manner as before described; they have chains round their necks, and ear-rings of an enormous size. The most entire is on the east side of the south door. Its whole height is about thirteen feet and an half. He

rests on the right leg, and the knee of the left is a little bent. The right humerus hangs downwards, parallel to the body, and the fore-arm is bent in such a manner that the hand is opposite to the navel: the palm is turned upwards, and sustains a globe; and the fingers are bent a little backwards at their joining with the metacarpus, in a manner that admirably represents, or, to speak more properly, makes the spectator almost feel, the weight of the body which they support. A belt is passed round the body at the navel, and from the left side of this hangs a strap joining with, and supporting a garment, which first appears at the right hip, passes over the thighs, under the genitals, which it leaves uncovered, and is tied in a large knot on the outside of the left thigh. From this knot, it is reverted over that thigh and crosses the other part of the same garment, from whence the end hangs loose between the legs. The left hand rests on the larger knot of this garment. The left thigh and knee are in particular well executed. The patella is distinctly formed, and you can clearly perceive the swelling of the vasti muscles, especially the vastus internus. The legs are not handsome, as they taper from the knee and have little or no calf; however, they much resemble those generally met with among the inhabitants of this country.

IN the north end of the west sceerandah is a very extraordinary figure, with eight arms, his body inclined very much to the left, his legs folded under him, but too much mutilated to distinguish their real position. Two of the arms support a curtain or canopy over his head. On this canopy sit a number of figures in the attitude of devotion. One of the right hands holds a sword of justice, and in one of the left is a pedestal, on which stands a small figure with his back turned to the large one, and inclined so much backwards that the head, when entire, must have hung very low; but that is now broke off, and the

the other parts of the figure are greatly mutilated. From these two circumstances many travellers have supposed the large statue to represent Solomon in the act of dividing the child; an idea so repugnant to all probability, that I should not have thought it worth mentioning had I not heard and seen it asserted with a great degree of confidence. Another of the left hands holds a bell, which is known to be an instrument constantly used in the religious ceremonies of the Gentoos. The arms and hands of the large figure, which are entire, and six in number, are exceedingly well executed; the other two are broken off.

WE have already seen that the people, whoever they were, who carved these statues have accurately observed and expressed successfully the form of the limbs, and the alterations that undergoes from muscular action or external impulse. But in the opposite end of this *seerandah* is a group of figures which shews them to have possessed a much more difficult part of the statuary's art, I mean that which represents the effects of mental sensations on the human countenance. The three principal figures which compose this group are two men, and a woman placed between them, all at full length and in a standing posture. One of the men rests his hand on the shoulder of the woman, who seems studiously to turn away from him; the other man, from his air, has the appearance of superior rank, and, if we may judge from the resemblance of his dress to that worn by the Bramins at present, belongs to that sacred order. An air of dejection is visible in every one of these figures; their heads are declined a little from the perpendicular attitude, and every feature is expressive of grief, not indeed of any violent agitation, but of a settled, deep rooted concern.

BUT the most remarkable figure of all is in the south *seerandah*, directly facing the main entrance of the cave. It is an

enormous bust, with four heads joined behind the ears; one of which faces presents itself directly in front, two more are seen in profile, and the fourth does not appear, being hid behind the first. The first face measures four feet from the top of the brow (where the usual ornament of the head begins) to the bottom of the under lip: the nose is about one foot and an half in length; the whole length of the face is four feet and an half; the breadth from the ear to the middle of the nose, three feet four inches. The breadth of the whole figure between the shoulders is about twenty feet. This face has a drowsy but placid appearance. That on the left (of the spectator who faces it) has the eyebrows contracted, the skin of the nose drawn upwards and the alae nasi distended, expressing contempt mixed with indignation. The mouth is furnished with whiskers; the tongue is thrust out between the teeth, and the whole features are in some degree monstrous. There are four hands, one on each side, and two others half way between the former and the middle of the figure. The outermost right hand (that most to the left of the spectator) supports a large hooded snake; the middle finger is not quite entire, but must have been about three feet and an half in length. The thickness of the snake is about a foot. The inner hand on this side is entirely broken off, but appears to have held a snake of the same kind with the former. The inner left hands supports a body of an oblate spheroidal form with a conical excrescence at the upper part and scaly like the squill or filly root, of of such a size as to fill the palm of the hand compleatly. The remaining face has a more pleasing aspect than the last; the under lips of both are remarkably thick. The outer left hand is rested on the shoulder, with the palm turned inwards, and holds an irregular body like a bunch of flowers. May we not ascribe the difference which is so remarkable in the aspect of the two last mentioned faces to the nature of the objects which are held

in the two hands, directly in view of those faces? All the heads have very large ear-rings, and much the same ornaments with those before described.

ON the east end of the same wall is an Amazon; the left breast, which is the only one, is very large and globular; and it plainly appears that there has never been any other. The right arm rests on the head of a bull; the left hangs down, and takes hold of something which is so much mutilated that we cannot discover what it has been meant to represent. Behind these are two other arms; the right supports a snake of the kind before-mentioned, and in the left she holds a small shield, grasping it by that part which is meant for the insertion of the arm. The shield is round, and regularly convex on the outside, which the statue turns towards herself, holding it nearly on a level with the shoulder. She has double bracelets on her two left hands, and a ring on each finger; on the right are single bracelets, and a ring only on the little finger. She leans, as beforementioned, to the right side, which ought to make the left hip project a little, but that projection is greatly exaggerated in the representation, which makes it appear distorted. The figure is surrounded with many smaller ones, both human and animal, in various postures.

ON the left side of the great figure with three faces is a male statue at full length; his left hand leaning, or rather pressing on the head of a dwarf; who, by the position of his body, and expression of his countenance, seems to experience great torture. These dwarfs are figures of a monstrous form that frequently occur in this and in some of the other caves. They have heads of an enormous size, with very short necks. Their breast is contracted, but the belly large, prominent, and much longer than it ought to be in proportion to the other parts. The legs and thighs

thighs are very small, bearing no proportion, either in length or thickness, to the rest of the figure. They are commonly placed, as in the instance before us, close to a large statue who leans on them, and sometimes appears to give them very great pain. The dwarf we have been now speaking of holds in his right hand a snake, twisted in a variety of folds. The large figure, from the knotted string over his left shoulder and breast, appears to be of the order of Bramins. A number of figures round him are presenting offerings, one of which is plainly a fish. One figure is kneeling at the foot of the large one, with his eyes turned upwards. A small figure on the right of the Bramin has a knife by his side, very distinctly made. The ribbed plate on the back of the head in this figure is of a circular form. On the left, in the same niche, is a representation common enough in this cave, that is, one figure sitting with his legs over the shoulders of another.

FROM the east side of the great cave, you enter into an area, in which are several smaller apartments. On the south wall of this area is a gigantic figure, who rests his left arm on the head of a dwarf, his right supports a hooded snake. He has a broad sword hung at his left side, by that belt, or garment, which in most of the other figures passes over the thighs in the manner before described, only in this figure it descends towards the right thigh instead of the left. He has four hands, the backmost left one supports a small human figure; one of the right hands is broken off entirely. The ornament on the head of the dwarf resembles a cushion, and above that is placed a solid body like the round ring of one of the pillars with part of the column, and on this the giant rests his hand. Round the body of the dwarf is twisted a snake, the head of which hangs down below the left hand of the dwarf. The length of this area is fifty-eight feet, and at each end is a small apartment, the floors of which

which are covered with water. That on the west is decorated with many figures, two of which resemble some of those monstrous Deities that are adored by the Gentoos at this day. That in the east end is entirely without ornament. Opposite to the middle of the area is a chamber with a small mausoleum in it.

FROM the west side of the great cave you enter into another square area, open above, by means of a cut made upwards through the whole thickness of the rock, about forty or fifty feet. In this are two small apartments, which have nothing remarkable in them; and an irregular cavern, full of water, which reaches inwards, below the bottom of the cave, so far, that the eye cannot discover where it terminates.

THE whole cave and the apartments adjoining to it are cut out of a solid rock of a very hard consistence. The figures have suffered nothing from time, for the surfaces of them all are smooth and well defined; but all the mutilations which they have sustained proceed from the brutal violence of barbarians who delight in mischief and are enemies to taste and science.

THE most remarkable, next to that last described, is

THE cave at Ambola, a village about seven miles distant from Tannah, in the island of Salfette. The cave lies a mile to the westward of this place. The principal entry is from the west; it is about eight feet wide, and covered at the beginning with an arch, formed by the trunk of a tree fallen across, the head of which has taken root. From the middle of it, some large sprouts have grown up, forming a new tree. From this the passage continues of the same breadth for about thirty feet, when it is extended to three times its former breadth. You advance about twelve feet more, and then come to a flight of seven steps, which leads down into the cave. The passage till you come to these steps is open above. The great gate is about twenty feet high, including the height of the steps, and the cheeks of it appear

pear to have been fluted columns, but are now entirely defaced. By this gate you enter into an antichamber, which has at each end a small *feerandah*, separated from the rest of the place by a row of three pillars. Directly facing you is the door of the cave, on each side of which is a figure, which we can just distinguish to have been human, so much have they suffered from the ravages of time. The head of that on the left is so defaced that its form and dress are quite indistinguishable; only the stumps of both arms are left, but from the position of these stumps with regard to the body, and still more from the analogy of other figures which are more entire, it appears, that the left arm has been in a depending posture, with the elbow bent. The figure on the right is much in the same posture, and the left arm more entire; the head is covered with something that has the appearance of a helmet. The great cave, into which you enter by this gate, is a square of eighty-eight feet, within which are contained two smaller squares, concentric to the larger; the outer, formed by pillars placed parallel to the sides of the great square at the distance of fifteen feet from the outer wall of the cave. Each row consists of six pillars including the end ones, in all twenty. The pillars are about thirteen or fourteen feet high, and of the same form with those in the cave at Elephanta. In the centre of this square, also at the distance of fifteen feet, is the innermost of all, inclosed by a solid wall, and having a door in the middle of each side. This chamber, as well as all the other parts of the cave, is cut from the solid rock. Within is a cubical mass, which appears to have been the pedestal of some Gentoo Deity, as this place is still consecrated to their worship. On the top of this pedestal, is erected a wooden frame, on which hangs a bell, used by the Gentoos in their religious ceremonies. The doors are formed with regular frames and cornices, and have been highly ornamented. On each side of these doors have
been

been groups of figures, about three feet high, some of them evidently monstrous, but all of them now greatly defaced.

IN the east end of the cave are three doors, by which you enter into another apartment. The middle door leads into the body of this apartment, and the other two enter into two *feerandahs*, separated from the place itself by rows of pillars, such as before described. On each side of the middle door within this apartment is a gigantic figure, attended by smaller ones. That on the left hand of the spectator who faces them is entire in all the parts above the hip, except the two hands, which are both broken off. He is of a robust make, well proportioned, and finished in a masterly manner. The face is broad, with a spacious forehead, the cheeks are full, and the whole countenance has an air of serenity, but nothing lively or expressive of acuteness or penetration. This figure has no beard, nor have any of the others except one, which is in a small group, over the large figures we are now describing. The hair of this gigantic statue is bushy, and formed into curls, which hang down upon the neck; there is a pyramidal ornament upon the crown of the head. The ears are pierced, and have large jewels suspended from them. Over the left shoulder is thrown a chain, which descends across the body, as far as the right hip. Round the waist about the top of the bones which form the pelvis another chain is passed, from the right side of which hang two smaller chains that are soon lost in a garment, which descends in a slanting direction from the right side, covers that thigh, and the lower part of the left, but yet seems to leave the genitals bare. The right arm is bent up towards the top of the shoulder, probably to hold the garment beforementioned. The left arm hangs down, nearly straight, and almost parallel to the body. The legs are miserably defaced, so that we can just discover the right foot to have been advanced before the left. A chain goes round

each arm, about the insertion of the deltoid muscle, and has on the outside the figure of a face; which is probably the place where it is fastened. On the left of this statue are two smaller figures, one of which is higher by the head than the other, and stands behind him. They certainly represent children, from the size of the head, which is very large in proportion to the body. Both these figures have rings in their ears, and their hair has much the appearance of a wig. The larger has the right hand raised as high as the top of his shoulder, and rests it on the head of the other, who appears to stretch out his neck, and look forward with great eagerness at some distant object. The body of this one below the neck is entirely demolished.

THE figure on the other side of the doors is of the same exquisite workmanship with the former. The right arm is in the same posture as that last mentioned, and suspends a garment which is very distinctly represented. It covers both thighs and all the parts from the top of the *os ilium* to within a hand's breadth of the knee. It is tied in a knot on the left hip, from which it hangs down in loose folds. As far as we can judge from what remains of the legs, the left is advanced one step forwards. The left arm rests on the head of one of those dwarfs before described, who holds in his right hand something like a snake, and with the left supports some animal the species of which we cannot determine. Over the top of the door are several groups of small figures, admirably executed.

THIS apartment is about thirty feet long, and has a door in the east end which leads into two small caves, in which there is nothing remarkable. The two doors of this apartment, the east and west ones of the small square in the middle of the great cave, and the two first described which form the principal entrance, are all in one straight line, in length about one hundred and thirty feet.

FROM the south side of the cave you enter into an irregular passage in the rock which ascends by a gentle slope towards a hole that is just sufficient to let a man of a slender make creep through, and leads into a passage between two pretty high rocks. But another branch of the same subterraneous cavern strikes off to the right, and, after making a curvature, which prevents one at first entering it from seeing the end, leads you to the door of a small regular apartment, the floor of which is covered, about three inches deep, with very clear water. This apartment is divided into two, and in the backmost of these is a Gentoo Deity.

THE whole cave is cut out of the rock, in the same manner with that at Elephanta, but the stone is of a much softer quality, so that, although the figures here bear fewer marks of violence than the others, they have suffered much more from the hand of time, insomuch that some of them are more than half mouldered away. The two large figures in the smaller apartment, though evidently a continuation of the same rocky substance, seem to be an exception to this general observation; for, though some of their limbs are broken off, the parts that remain have a smooth surface, and are harder than most other parts of the cave.

BUT the most numerous collection of these caves is at CANARA, a place within about ten miles of Tannah, and more to the northward than Ambola. Here a very large hill is almost totally surrounded with these excavations of various forms and sizes, but none of them are finished in such an elaborate way, or decorated with so numerous figures as those before described. I shall therefore not enter into a tedious description of each particular cave, but only mention some remarkable circumstances in which these differ from the others.

THE pillars we meet with here are rudely hewn, of irregular shapes, and without much uniformity one with another. Many of these caves are more than double the height of those at Elephanta or Ambola; and some of them have square holes at equal heights on opposite sides of the walls, as if intended for beams to support a floor, which idea is confirmed by their having windows at that height. Many of these caves are very small, but others do not yield in extent to those before described, and are furnished with vestibules, from which you enter into the body of the place. One of these vestibules has, at each end, a statue of a much larger size than any of those before described, except the bust with three heads in the cave at Elephanta. They stand in two niches, and by that means are more nearly detached from the rock, out of which they are cut, than any of the others. The statues are at full length, in height about twenty feet, and in every respect well proportioned. The heads are bare, and the hair formed into loose curls. In the caves before described we hardly meet with a capital figure that is not surrounded by a numerous group of smaller ones; but here the case is otherwise. It is also to be observed that we do not find in these caves any of the monstrous figures which occur now and then at Ambola, but much more frequently at Elephanta. On the wall of one of the caves is a pretty long inscription, very entire; from which, it is reasonable to suppose, some curious information might be collected, with regard to the antiquity and original design of these caves. All I could learn concerning it was that it is in the Gentoo language, and contains benedictions on those who shall come to this place to worship. If this is true, which I do not give as a certain fact, it determines at once the design for which these immense works were undertaken, in a manner that is very probable, from the many figures which
resemble

resemble the Gentoo Deities, and still more from the cave at Ambola being consecrated to their religious worship even at this time.

THE antiquity of all the caves is undoubtedly very remote. None of the inhabitants have any tradition relating to their origin; and indeed many circumstances would lead us to suppose that they have been constructed by a very different race of men from those who now inhabit this country. In the first place, the present inhabitants are extremely indolent, and very unlikely to execute a work of such enormous labour. Secondly, when they make any attempts at sculpture, their performances are almost all of the monstrous kind, and destitute of grace or proportion; whereas the majority of the figures now described are natural, and even most of those which are monstrous have limbs elegantly proportioned. It is farther natural to suppose that those artists would take the models of their work from among themselves; and the figures are very far from resembling the present race of Indians. The general form of the body is more robust and muscular; but the most remarkable difference lies in the countenance, which is broad and full; the nose flat; the lips, particularly the under one, remarkably thick; and the whole combination of features of a drowsy appearance, very unlike that acute and sprightly look which distinguishes the natives of Hindostan. And the kind of features here described are so universally found in all the figures, that they cannot be ascribed to any fortuitous circumstance. An argument against what has been said may be taken from the inscription mentioned above, which is said to be in the language spoken by the Gentoos at this day; but, allowing this to be true, it is not improbable that the inscription may be of much later origin than the cave itself. From the simplicity which reigns through the whole of the caves at Canara, and the total want of those monstrous figures which we

meet

meet with in the others; I think it probable that the former are the most ancient of the whole, and that the others have not been constructed till both the taste and the mythology of the people began to be corrupted.

FROM considering the incredible labour that must have been employed in cutting these caves in a hard and solid rock, the idea has been suggested, that it may, at the time the work was performed, have been of a softer consistence, and been afterwards hardened by exposure to the air; and indeed this conjecture appears, from the many similar instances known to every one, to carry with it a great degree of probability. It would not be difficult to put this to the test of experiment, by digging in some of the adjacent parts; and, as the enquiry is curious, the attempt would well deserve the attention of any one who should have leisure and opportunity to prosecute the subject.

XXXII. *A Dissertation on the Religion of the Druids.*
Addressed to Governor Pownall. By Edward Led-
wich, LL. B. Vicar of Aghaboe, Queen's County,
Ireland; and Member of the Antiquary Societies of
London, Dublin, and Edinburgh.

Read November 11, 1784.

TO form complete systems of early colonizations, of ancient history, learning, and manners, from the few remaining vestigia of former times, to decorate them with the ornaments of language and erudition, to strain every nerve to give them consistence and credibility, hath engaged the attention and labour of the most eminent writers of this and the last century. Witness the works of Rudbeck, Bochart, Pezron, Bryant, Gebelin, and many more. To the sober eye of reason the task must appear discouraging, and its accomplishment extremely difficult: no man, how learned or ingenious soever, can be depended on for supplying the great deficiency of matter which is necessary to fill up the chasms of antiquity. The attempt seems as arduous, and almost as absurd, as to endeavour to erect another Herculaneum with its present ruins and the lava that destroyed it.

GIVE a date and a name, and a man of leisure and letters will, almost instantly, create a piece of history or chronology, seemingly regular and consistent; and this by means of conjectures,

tures, by straining passages and combining the most heterogeneous, and by the various other arts of literary pharmacy. This conjectural mode of writing, fashionable for almost two centuries, is productive of much real injury to the cause of learning [a]. For by thus mingling truth and conjecture together books have been multiplied, and the public deceived into an opinion of their merit: events have been settled; history ascertained and manners described, that never existed beyond the author's imagination. The popular voice gives a temporary merit to such productions: reason at length recovers from her delirium, and we are then ashamed to find the object of our admiration to have been some groundless hypothesis or historical Romance.

THESE reflections will be considered as severe by those who are better pleased to have their fancy amused than their understanding stored with truths and realities; and the number of such is not small. They will loudly condemn every attempt to circumscribe our literature, or to reduce, to a few pages, voluminous compositions. They will plead the celebrity of names, and the deference to be paid to established reputations. But let us remember how fatal to learning respect to names and authorities must ever prove. It shuts up the portal of science, and holds the judgement in thralldom. The most animated endeavours are then overshadowed, become timid, and we are afraid or ashamed but to set one step out of the beaten path. Hence reveries, the wildest perhaps ever suggested, have not only been acquiesced in, but applauded and commented on by ingenious men.

ON no subject has fancy roamed with more licentious indulgence than on that of the Druids and their institutions. Though sunk in the grossest ignorance and barbarism, their admirers have

[a] This is no new complaint. See Parrhasiana, tom. ii. pag. 360.

found them in the dark recesses of forests, secluded from mankind and almost from day, cultivating the abstrusest sciences and penetrating the sublimest mysteries of nature: anticipating the discoveries of Pythagoras, Epicurus, Archimedes, and Newton: and all this without the aid of letters or of experiments: without those progressive steps in civilization which polish and refine the mind, and naturally lead it to the study of abstracted knowledge.

THE foundation, whereon those towering superstructures have been reared, is no more than a few imperfect and incidental notices in Cæsar, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Mela, Lucan, Tacitus, and Pliny. "These have written in so loose and trifling a manner, that all their fragments put together would hardly amount to three or four pages; and these reduced to their just value would lose one half of their bulk: whether it be, that these authors have but just copied one another, or only designed to say the same things [*b*]." The tenets of the Celtic religion, as a warm admirer of Druidism confesses [*c*], are not *as yet* fully known. At what time, it may be asked, are we to expect a revelation of them? From the labours of this writer and others engaged in the same studies very little information can be hoped for, unless we surrender our reason to the most artless delusions, and give credit to the most glaring contradictions. Some proof is necessary.

WE are told the Druids taught the unity of God: were not polytheists: that Hesus, Teutates, and Taranis, were only names and titles of the supreme being; nor did they worship the hea-

[*b*] The words of the authors of the *Universal History*, vol. XVIII. pag. 2. edit. 8vo.

[*c*] Vallancey's *Essay on the Celtic language*, p. 43.

venly bodies. That Apollo and Beal were the prime deities of the Pagan Irish: that they swore by the sun, moon, stars and wind, and that they venerated the planets as types of the great creator [d]. Schedius declares their religion differed from the Roman. The authors of the Universal History oppose some of these notions; and Borlase [e] says, it has long been disputed whence the Druidic discipline and superstition had their rise: but if we compare it, adds he, with the antient gentile religion, every tenet and rite which the Druids taught and practised, every deity which they are said to have worshiped, we shall find common to them and the most antient idolaters of the east. "The Celtes, as Maximus Tyrius [f] informs us, adored Jupiter; but the Celtic Jupiter is a lofty oak." On the contrary Lucan,

Et quibus immitis placatur sanguine diro
Teutates, horrensque feris altaribus Hesus;
Et Taranis Scythicæ non mitior ara Dianæ.

Affertions of antient and modern writers so dissimilar verify the sentiments of Bruker [g] and Mr. Macpherson; demonstrate

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[d] Compare Vallancey on the Celtic language, p. 37, and on the antiquity of the Irish language, p. 275—281. Had not then the learned Bruker reason for saying, "Tantis vero difficultatibus et insuperabili fere obscuritate et incertitudine laborat Celtarum historia, ut quid inde certi et supra exiguum verisimilitudinis gradum ex nostra tractatione promittere queamus, non habeamus: quæ maluimus *modeste* fateri, quam incertas, *pro more solenni*, conjecturas pro certis veritatibus lectori obtrudere." Hist. Philosoph. lib. ii. cap. 9.

[e] Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 63.

[f] Κελλοὶ εἰσὶν μὲν Δία· ἄγαλμα δὲ Διὸς Κελτικὸν ὑποπλὴ δρυῶς. Diss. 38. "La religion des Gaulois differoit de celle des Germains en ce, que la premiere plus raffinée; mais les dieux en bonne partie étoient les memes." Leibnitz Oper. tom. vii. p. 502. edit. Dutens.

[g] Bruker remarks, that a great change was introduced into the religious dogmas of the Celts by the Massylian colony; and Mr. Macpherson (Introduction,

an imperfect knowledge of the subject, and the impossibility of arriving at the genuine and original dogmas of Druidism. All that at present can be done towards giving a proper idea of them, is to recur to the antients, and produce what they have delivered. In such a review it seems also necessary not to include every notice, as others have done, of the Celtic religion, dispersed in a multiplicity of authors; but to confine the inquiry to that theology alone, which is expressly declared to be Druidic. For the Celtes, a widely extended people, differed in religious tenets very much from each other; their notions of divine matters being tinged with those of their surrounding neighbours.

CÆSAR is the earliest writer who mentions the Druids: whether he was ignorant of the subject and confounded deities, or whether he wrote more like a soldier than a philosopher, is no part of our present business [b]. His account of the Druidic religion we shall now give, and compare it with the Roman: a contrast never before instituted to my knowledge.

I. The Druids presided over divine affairs, took care of public and private sacrifices, and were the interpreters of religion [i]. So did the Roman priesthood, as related by Dionysius Halicarnassensis [k], and almost in the words of Cæsar.

tion, p. 160), rightly concludes, for this and other reasons their aboriginal notions cannot now be developed. Stukeley, Borlase, and Vallancey have jumbled all together, to eke out their favourite hypothesis. If they had proceeded, says Bruker, "prout criticæ historicæ fidei regula patiuntur, tot fabulis, totque incertis narrationibus de majoribus nostris non premeretur historia harum gentium. Verum neglecto critico examine veritas quæque neglecta est sæpiusculæ." P. 315.

[b] Il est constant et reconnu, que Jules Cæsar a confondu le Dis des Gaulois avec celui des Romains, qui étoit Pluton, qu'il n'ait pas été entièrement au fait de la religion des Gaulois, et qu'il en ait parlé plutôt en general qu'en savant et en philosophe. Pelleutier, Hist. des Celtes, tom. i. p. 125, 126.

[i] Illi rebus divinis intersunt: sacrificia publica ac privata procurant: religiones interpretantur. Cæs. lib. 6.

[k] Antiquit. Rom. lib. 2.

II. The Druids exercised a civil and criminal jurisdiction [7]. So did the Roman sacred college [m]. Cicero informs us, that it was the saying of aged men, that he could not be a good pontiff who was ignorant of the civil law [n].

III. They who did not obey their decrees, were interdicted the sacrifices [o]. Among the Romans such a prohibition implied the most atrocious guilt [p].

IV. There was a head Druid who had supreme authority [q]. The pontifex maximus was a well-known dignity in the Roman hierarchy [r].

V. On the decease of the head Druid, the next in dignity succeeded: if there were equals, one was chosen by suffrage [s]. The sacred college at Rome was filled by suffrage [t].

[7] De omnibus fere controversiis, publicis privatisque, constituunt. Cæf.

[m] Dionys. Hal. lib. 2. Liv. lib. 1. Ad eos, de omnibus divinis atque humanis rebus referretur. Cic. de Oratore, et Orat. pro domo.

[n] At, inquit Publii filius, ex patre audiui, pontificem neminem bonum esse, nisi qui jus civile cognoscet. Cic. de leg. lib. 2: The sacerdotal and judicial offices were always united in the same persons. Δικαστὰ δὲ τὸ ἀρχαῖον παρ' Αἰγυπτίων ἡγεῖς ἦσαν. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. xiv. cap. 34. 1 Chron. xxiii. 4. 26. 29. Strab. lib. 1 and 4. Tacit. Ger. cap. 7 and 11.

[o] Si quis eorum decreto non stetit, sacrificiis interdicunt. Cæf.

[p] Moneo ne sacra manus

Violata crede, neve furiali malo

Aspergat aras.

Senec. in Thyest. Stat. Syl. 3.

[q] His autem omnibus Druidibus præest unus, qui summam inter eos habet auctoritatem. Cæf.

[r] Livius, et fere omnes Romani scriptores.

[s] Hoc mortuo, siquis ex reliquis excellit dignitate, succedit: at si plures sunt pares, suffragio Druidum adlegitur. Cæf.

[t] Dionys. Hal. supra. Dio. lib. 37. Ascon. in Cic. Divin.

VI. The

VI. The Druids were exempted from serving in war, and from taxes [*u*]. The Roman priesthood was free from military duty and city taxes: and from others it may be collected, that they had an immunity from taxes [*w*].

VII. The Druids taught their disciples [*x*] a great number of verses. It was the Roman custom for youth always to begin their studies with poetical works [*y*].

Det primos versibus annos,

Maeniumque bibit faelici pectore fontem [*z*].

VIII. It was unlawful for the Druids to commit their secrets to writing [*a*]. The Roman augurs were sworn to secrecy [*b*].

IX. The Druids taught the Metempsychosis [*c*]: this was the belief of the unlearned Romans, and as such is ridiculed by Cicero, Ovid, and Seneca.

X. The Druids discoursed much of the stars and their motion; of the magnitude of the world; of the nature of things; and of the greatness and power of the immortal gods [*d*].

[*u*] Druidæ neque tributa una cum reliquis pendant, militiæ vacationem omniumque rerum habent immunitatem. Cæf.

[*w*] Et licet a collationibus multi fuerant sacerdotes immunes, sunt tamen exempla, pontifices et sacerdotes pecuniam propter bellum conferri solitam in stipendiarum contulisse, quum se ob sacerdotium immunes dicerent. Alex. ab Alex. lib. ii. p. 65.

[*x*] Magnum ibi numerum versuum ediscere dicuntur. Cæf.

[*y*] Serv. in Virg. 4 Eclog. Bono ordine, primo poetas.

[*z*] Petron. Arbit.

[*a*] Neque fas esse existimant ea literis mandare. Cæf.

[*b*] Plutarch Quæst. Rom. 99.

[*c*] In primis hoc volunt persuadere, non interire animas, sed ab aliis, post mortem, transire ad alios. Cæf.

[*d*] Multa præterea de sideribus, atque eorum motu; de mundi ac terrarum magnitudine; de rerum natura; de deorum immortalium vi ac potestate disputant. Cæf.

Such speculations employed the Roman clergy, as we learn from Cicero, Plutarch, and Amm. Marcellinus [e].

THIS parallel exhibits a remarkable analogy. Is it not probable, that, like later travellers, he has substituted the Roman in the place of the Druidic tenets? The affirmative receives countenance from the omission of some well-authenticated and distinguishing practices, as their slaying and eating human victims, and their magical performances.

CICERO, who was contemporary with Cæsar, and a man of universal knowledge and great curiosity, never, I think, mentions the Druids, or even Britain, unless in one or two places; and then as a country from whence slaves alone could be procured [f]: "these you must not expect to find skilled in letters or music," says he, writing to Atticus.

DIODORUS SICULUS lived about the age of Julius Cæsar, or somewhat later: he says, the Saronides were the Gaulish philosophers and divines, and held in great estimation: nor was it lawful to perform any sacrifice without the presence of a philosopher [g]. There were also Vates, who from auspices and the entrails of victims predicted future events [h].

THE first part of this citation has supplied the moderns with all the fine things they have advanced on the Druids. From their conclusions, I imagine, they must have thus proceeded.

[e] Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. ii. Plutarch. de Ei apud Delp. Amm. Marcell. lib. 21.

[f] Neque argenti scrupulum, esse ullum in illa insula, neque ullam spem prædæ nisi ex mancipiis: ex quibus nullos puto te literis aut musicis eruditos expectare. Ep. xv. lib. 4.

[g] Φιλόσοφοι τὲ τινες ἰσὶ καὶ Θεόλογοι περιττῶς τιμώμενοι, ὧς καὶ Σαρωνίδες ὀνομάζονται. Lib. v. Bochart shews, that *saron* or *saronis*, among the Greeks, was an oak, and equivalent to *druid*. Phaleg. p. 741.

[h] Χρῶνται δὲ καὶ μάντισιν. Diod. ubi supra.

A PHILOSOPHER is a man skilled in every art and science. Does not Isidore [i] define philosophy, the knowledge of human and divine things? Does he not make it consist of three branches; natural or physics; moral or ethics; rational or logics? Physics, according to Plato, include arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy.

THESE few lines of Isidore have been the occasion of much literary trifling. "The Druids, says Rowlands [k], considered nature in her largest extent: in her systems and in her motions; in her magnitudes and powers; in all which they seemed to cabalize. Their philosophy was so comprehensive as to take in, with the theory of nature, astronomy, geometry, medicine and natural magic, and all this upon the corpuscularian hypothesis." — Upon the corpuscularian system! truly that is wonderful! but would it not have been obliging to have informed us, how and at what time those sages became acquainted with the schools of Moschus, Epicurus, Democritus and Leucippus, wherein this doctrine was taught [l]? or did they antecedently cultivate it in their forests? Perhaps this was no easy matter to ascertain, and is therefore prudently omitted. Borlase [m], to supply this defect, tells us, the Druids were remarkable for learning six hundred years before Christ; and for proof refers us to Hoffman's dictionary, Steph. Forcatulus, Picard, Frickius, and Castlenau, who only retail the usual scraps of antiquity on this subject, together with their own whimsies. Seriously, such assertions and such authorities have every appearance of bantering the reader; at least we may say with Martial:

[i] Orig. lib. ii. cap. xxi. pag. 873.

[k] *Mona Antiqua*, p. 62.

[l] Sext. Empiric. lib. ix. Strab. lib. xvi.

[m] *Antiquities of Cornwall*, p. 74.

Turpe est difficiles habere nugas;

Et stultus labor est ineptiarum [n].

The men who would thus impose phantoms for realities on us, and whom to pursue and detect through every winding of hypothesis and absurdity is extremely irksome, should have applied their time and erudition to the discovery of the real import of Diodorus's words. They then would have found, that Sophia and Philosophia among the antients implied skill in any particular branch of knowledge: thus rhetoric and oratory are [o] the philosophy of words; government political philosophy, and so on. But philosophy primarily refers to theology, and the priest is expressly called the philosopher [p]. The idea which Diodorus would convey of the Saronides is, their superintendence of the rites of religion. This is explained and confirmed by his observing, that no sacrifice was to be made without the presence of the philosopher. The only inducement he might have had for using the word philosopher was a perusal of Cæsar, who mentions their discourses on the stars: but, lest he should be mistaken, he immediately adds theologists; as theology included such contemplations. The passage in Laertius so triumphantly brought as making the Druids the authors of philosophy among the Celtes and Gauls, is explained in a few subsequent pages [q], where it appears the philosophy he was speak-

[n] Epig. 86. lib. 2.

[o] Τὴν πρὸς τοὺς λόγους φιλοσοφίαν. Iliberat. Pansyr. and Cicero. Hanc enim perfectam philosophiam semper judicavi, quæ de maximis quæstionibus copiose possit, ornateque dicere. Tusc. Quæst. 1. De Orat. lib. 1. Φιλοσοφία πολιτική. Dionys. Hal. de charact. Thucyd.

[p] Aristot. Phys. 12. 2. Metaphys. 4. 3. 11. 2. Hieroc. in earm. Pythagor. in 10, where this is fully confirmed. Porphyry has a remarkable expression to our purpose: Εὐκρίτης ἦρα ὁ φιλόσοφος ὁ θεολόγος. De Abstin. lib. ii. § 49.

[q] Τὸ τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἔργον ἵνα ἀπὸ βασιλέων ἀρχῶν - παρὰ τὴν Κελτικὴν τῆς Γαλατίας τῆς κατὰ τὴν Δριδαν. Proemio.

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ing of is theology [r]. Thus we see the Druidists not only strain, but manifestly pervert the words of every antient author to serve their purpose.

HAD they reflected on what occasions the philosopher's presence was necessary, they certainly could never think them such as became an enlightened and polished man. He was not called from his retirement to communicate discoveries advantageous to society, the result of his applications to natural philosophy or politics: it was not to open new sources of trade and manufactures, or new improvements in legislation: no, it was to behold one of his own species stretched on his back, his breast dissected with the stroke of a sword, while the Vates stand around, and with curious eyes view the convulsions of the members, the streaming of the vital fluid, and from the spectacle deduce cruel presages [s]. These Vates were the same as the Roman Haruspices, the lowest of the sacerdotal order, and so odious their employment that they were scarcely admissible to the rank of senators [t].

DIONORUS SICULUS could not have better opportunities of information than Cæsar who resided some time among the Celtes. The latter mentions but a single order of priests, and no more are found among antient and modern barbarians, whose customs and manners preserve an unerring resemblance. Diodorus makes an addition, for which there seems to be no ground but that propensity, which writers cannot restrain, of accommodating the practices of foreign people to their own.

[r] Εὐὰ δὲ, ἡ τὸ πρὸς τοῖς ἱερεῶσι τῶν Δρυϊδῶν ἡμεῖς πρὸς τοῖς ἱερεῶσι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων. p. 4. edit. Casaub.

[s] As described by Diod. Sic. before.

[t] Neque enim erat terendum, cum, qui hodie haruspiciam facerent in Senatu Romæ legerentur; eos qui aliquando pecumiam fœderant, se munus præcuriones esse non licere. Cic. Epist. 43. lib. 6.

BUT it will be said, that the intelligent and judicious Strabo [u] informs us, the Druids, besides the study of natural causes or physics, cultivated also moral discipline or ethics; which, in the Grecian schools, were principal parts of philosophy [w]. As Diodorus from Cæsar's account of their employment called them philosophers, so Strabo, from seeing them thus named, describes their philosophy, in terms solely applicable to the improved state of it in Greece, and by no means adapted to the wretched conjuring tricks of the Druids. If Strabo intended an eulogy on the learning and religion of the Celtes, as is pretended, he palpably contradicts himself in giving us such characteristic traits of national barbarity, as are only found among the most ignorant and savage people: so horrible were their rites and ceremonies:

Quibus possunt illacrymare feræ.

Had Strabo adverted to the inference to be drawn from his account of the Druids and their countrymen, he never would have said that they cultivated physics or ethics.

PASSING over Mela, Lucan, and Tacitus, who record nothing remarkable of the Druids, I shall proceed to what Pliny has delivered concerning them.

THE Druids, says he [x], who are the Gaulish Magi, hold nothing so sacred as the miseltoe, and the tree on which it grows, if it be an oak. They select groves of this wood for religious purposes; nor do they perform any sacred office without garlands of its leaves, from whence they derive their name of Druids. The miseltoe (very scarce) when found is collected with great ceremony. This is done on the sixth day of the moon: a day so much esteemed by them, that they have made their

[u] Lib. 4.

[w] Diog. Laert. vit. Epicuri, p. 726.

[x] Nat. Hist. lib. 16. cap. 44. sub finem.

months, years, and ages (which consist but of thirty years), to take their beginning from it: the moon at that time being strong enough, though not arrived at half her fullness. This day they call All Heal.

HAVING prepared their feasts and sacrifices under the oak, two white bulls are tied to it. A priest clad in white ascends the tree, and cuts off the miseltoe; it is received below in a white garment. They then sacrifice their victims. The miseltoe exhibited as a potion is believed to remove sterility, and to be a preservative against poison: an eminent instance, concludes he, that human religion has often no other object than frivolous things. To this Bruker adds, that we may easily appreciate the value of that philosophy which endeavoured to derive credit to its professors from the wearing of golden chains, and conducting itself with arrogance and pride [y].

IN other places, Pliny [z] relates their magic rites in gathering the samolus and selago; their stories and charlatannerie about the serpent's egg [a], and their sacrificing and eating men [b].

PLINY calls the Druids the Gaulish Magi; in the Celtic they are named Dryi and Dryithe [c], signifying persons conversant in diabolical arts. A closer knowledge having betrayed to the Romans their real character and ritual, they are no longer ho-

[y] Quæ ut veræ philosophiæ characteribus e diametro sunt contraria, ita quod de eorum philosophia in genere judicandum fit produnt. Hist. Philosoph. pag. 319.

[z] Lib. 24. cap. 11. Lib. 29. cap. 3.

[a] Atque ut est magorum solertia, occultandis fraudibus sagax. Plin. lib. 29. cap. 3.

[b] In quibus hominem occidere religiosissimum erat, mandî vero etiam saluberrimum. Plin. lib. 30. cap. 1.

[c] Lhuyd, Archaeol. in voce. Dickinson, Delph. Phoenix. p. 188.

noured by them with the pompous titles of philosophers and divines, but that of magicians or conjurors [*d*]. In what a contemptible light Pliny held the powers of magic and the supposed virtues of herbs may be seen by consulting the places cited in the notes [*e*]; where we find some very trifling and some laughable prescriptions of those antient doctors.

As to their inhuman sacrifices, Pliny after recounting them adds [*f*], it cannot be estimated what thanks are due to the Romans for removing such monsters from society. That the Druids offered men in sacrifice is not denied, but that they ate them is not so readily assented to: and yet that the barbarians of northern Europe indulged in such repasts admits of the strongest evidence. Diodorus Siculus relates, that the Britons, who inhabited Iris, devoured human flesh [*g*]. The Gauls, conducted by Brennus into Greece, did the same [*h*]. St. Jerome, in the fifth century, writes thus [*i*]: "In my youth I saw in

[*d*] The name Magi in the East was most august and venerable: they alone were skilled in divine matters and the ministers of the deity. Οἱ περὶ τὸ θεῶν σερβὶ, καὶ τὰς θεράποντες Μαγὸς μὲν προσαγορεύονται — μέγα καὶ σεβασμίον γένος. Porphy. de abstinent. Lib. 4. § 16.

[*e*] Super omnia adjuvare eum magicæ vanitates (he is speaking of Asclepiades) in tantum evectæ, ut abrogare herbis fidem cunctis possunt. Plin. lib. 26. cap. 4. The whole chapter well deserves perusal. See also lib. 28. cap. 16. lib. 37. cap. 10. lib. 30. cap. 1. Magicas vanitates sæpius equidem antecedentis operis parte, ubicunque cause locusque poscebant, coarguimus detegimusque. And Bruker. Druides, qui tamen medicinam magicam magis quam physicam excoluisse videntur.—Et hoc quoque nomine Druides e philosophorum albo delentur, anicularum et medicamentorum choris inferendi, pag. 341, 342.

[*f*] Non satis aestimari potest, quantum Romanis debeatur qui sustulere monstra. lib. 30. cap. 1.

[*g*] Lib. 5.

[*h*] Pausan. in Phocic.

[*i*] Adv. Jovin. lib. 2. Baron. Annal. A. D. 429. n. 2.

Gaul the Scots, a British people, feeding upon human bodies." The Scots here, and the Britons of Iris before were probably the same people [k], and as likely to be natives of Ireland as Britain. The delicacy of modern times is shocked at this narration, and endeavours to elude its force by observing, that no such custom is found in Cæsar or Tacitus: that Jerome acknowledges he was young when he saw this spectacle, and he might be imposed on. But surely nothing can exceed the weakness of such evasions. Jerome was writing on a very serious subject; he was of mature age, and his credit and veracity at stake. It was not easy to erase from the memory the recollection of these men-eaters. The fact is not retailed from hearsay, or vague report: *ipse adolescentulus viderim*: can any mode of expression, or form of language, be less equivocal?

ON the authority of some painted glass in the cloyster of Whitby abbey it is asserted, that the Scots were anthropophagi until the reign of William the Conqueror [l]. And so late as 1297, we read of their slaying a man, and dividing his skin into small portions; not by way of reliques, but to insult the deceased [m]. In a word, the barbarians of Europe [n], of North America, and the new-discovered islands [o], delight in human blood: their principal religious rites are stained with it. Infi-

[k] Macpherson's Dissert. Preface.

[l] *Pictura vitrea, quæ est in clauistro de Streneshale, monstrat Scotos, qui prope fines Anglorum habitabant fuisse, vel ad Gulielmi nostri tempora, anthropophagos, et hanc immanitatem a Gulielmi gladio fuisse punitam. Monast. Anglic. p. 72.*

[m] Quem excoriantes, Scoti diviserunt inter se pellem ipsius in modicas partes; non quidem ad reliquias, sed in contumelias. W. Hemingford, vol. I. p. 130.

[n] Aventinus describes the sacrifices of the Abrunæ in almost the words of Diodorus Siculus, Ann. Boior. p. 20.

[o] Hawkesworth's, Forster's and Cook's Voyages.

nirely more refined, spiritual, and mild, is the ritual of the uncivilized Siberians; and yet the Russian academicians do not break out into rapturous exclamations on the sublimity of their theology, or the extent of their knowledge: in the style of Pliny's remark on the Druids, they add [p], " Ils font de la plus grossiere ignorance, et dans la plus grande misere: leur etat prouve evidemment, que notre bonheur est proportionnée a nos lumieres."

HERE I shall close the evidence of antiquity on the Druidic religion and the professors of it. If any traces of an enlightened and polished people can be found in, or are fairly deducible from it, the discoverer without envy or rivalry may enjoy the reward of his sagacity. Every liberal and cultivated mind will join with Lucretius [q];

Nam nihil egregius quam res secernere apertas

A dubiis, animus quas ab se protinus addit.

As a corollary fairly deducible from what is advanced we may lay it down as certain, that mankind, in the various stages from rudeness to civility, will be found to have the same religious sentiments, the same occupations, and the same customs and manners. The frame of our mental and corporeal faculties will admit of no deviation from this identity. If the annals of the world record an exception, let it be produced: I am bold to say, it has escaped some attentive observers of the history of the human species.

To behold an order of men, possessed of every science and accomplishment, as the Druids are said to have been, while their compatriots were sunk into the grossest ignorance, is such a phenomenon as never was seen: it is miraculous. At the

[p] Voyage en Siberie, par Gmelin.

[q] Lib. 4. vers. 468.

same time, I am free to confess, that there seems to have been a very remote period, of which we have scarce a glimpse, when knowledge had attained to its present perfection; and this the learned M. Dutens has made more than probable in his "*Recherches sur l'origine des Decouvertes attribuées aux modernes*," wherein he has clearly demonstrated, that our discoveries in the natural and moral world are not novel, but the same as those delivered by antiquity; and that where the parallel fails, it is to be ascribed to the want of literary memorials, now buried amid the ruins of time.

HOWEVER, I refer to an epoch antecedent to the flourishing state of knowledge in Greece. I would seek for it in Egypt, Media, and particularly in Chaldea [*r*]: I would say with Galen [*s*], that no man or age is sufficient to perfect any art or science, and that when we behold them advanced to such astonishing maturity in those antient empires, they must have been long before known and cultivated [*t*].

THAT learning visited the parching sands of Africa, and the chilling regions of the north, that it illuminated every climate from the rising to the setting sun, is no new discovery [*u*]. Besides the labours of erudition, modern travellers give proofs of this enough to convince the most incredulous. Captain Carver observed, near the shores of the Mississippi, an intrenchment: its front to the country; its rear covered by the river, with a ditch and angles. "How, says he, a work of this kind could exist in a country, that has hitherto (*according to the general received opinion*) been the seat of war to untutored Indians alone,

[*r*] Strab. lib. 16. Plin. lib. 6. cap. 26.

[*s*] Aphorism. 1. in Hippocrat.

[*t*] Voss. de Scient. Mathem. cap. 30.

[*u*] Diod. Sic. lib. 5. Plin. lib. 7. cap. 56. Voss. de Philosoph. sect. cap. 1,

whose whole stock of military knowledge has only, till within two centuries, amounted to drawing the bow, and whose only breastwork even at present is the thicket, I know not. Perhaps the hints I have here given may suggest to us very *different ideas of the antient state of realms*, that we now believe to have been from the earliest period, only the habitations of savages."

CAPTAIN Cook and Mr. Forster acquaint us, that in Easter island, in the southern ocean, are a great number of statues of an amazing size, being above twenty-seven feet long and nine feet in diameter. Some are larger, projecting a shade sufficient to shelter thirty persons from the heat of the sun. On the heads of these gigantic figures were round cylindrical caps of stone, five feet high and the same in diameter, of a reddish colour; the whole resembling the head-dress of the Egyptian divinities. These statues are placed on platforms of masonry thirty and forty feet long, and from twelve to sixteen feet high. This masonry, which, the better to preserve it, declines inward from perpendicular, is faced with very large hewn stones, without cement; the whole as well executed as any piece of plain work in Europe. The writers before-named are at a loss to account for those astonishing and stupendous productions when they consider the ability of the present inhabitants. These islanders do not now exceed seven hundred; they have no machinery or any working tools but those made of stone, bone or shells: they are sunk in the most deplorable poverty, ignorance and wretchedness. Yet these immense remains demonstrate that there was a period, when they were not only acquainted with the arts and sciences but were no mean proficient therein. This period must be very remote, as the decaying platforms, secured by the incumbent weight of such heavy statues, evinces.

EQUALLY

EQUALLY beyond the reach of history or ingenuity is it to account for the time when the Calmuc Tartars were so enlightened as to make molten images of gold, silver and brass; to form hilts of swords, and ornaments for saddles and bridles; yet these, and precious stones mixed with the ashes of the dead, are taken from their tombs scattered over their deserts.

I LATELY did myself the honour of presenting to the Museum of the Antiquaries of Scotland ten specimens in brass of the original military weapons of the antient Irish. Some of them are of the shape of those instruments called Celts, and the same as the Mexican hatchet exhibited in Ulloa's voyage. Perhaps this learned Society, second to none in Europe, may hereafter think proper to publish drawings of these and many other curiosities in their possession: they would be a valuable present to the lovers of antiquity, particularly if illustrated and enriched from that fund of erudition which they so eminently possess. I shall only beg leave to add, that these weapons are really so inoffensive and puerile, that they must belong to an age where in the art of war was in its infancy; nevertheless the composition of the metal and the excellence of the cast indicate considerable progress in metallurgy. They are older than our acquaintance with the Romans or any other civilized people.

I SHALL mention but one instance more of learning flourishing in a country and at a time of which there are no collateral proofs or surviving memorials. These were the Turduli or Turditani a people of Spain, who, as Strabo [w] informs us, had grammatical, historical, and law, writings above six thousand years old. This is a mere fiction, says Bochart [x], because when Strabo writ, the world was not more than 4000 years old from the creation, and from the deluge but 2400.

[w] Lib. 3.

[x] Chanaan, p. 565.

1. THAT the Druids possessed no *internal* or *external* doctrine; either veiled by symbols, or clouded in ænigmas, or any religious tenets but the charlatanerie of barbarian priests, and the grossest gentile superstition. You will observe the proof of this in the exhibition of national manners, confirmed by good authorities and ocular demonstration.

2. You may be inclined to think, from instances multiplied, I fear, to a tiresome prolixity, that the arts and sciences flourished among the people now savages: in places now deserts, and in times beyond the reach of history or chronology: that there is an established circuitous vicissitude in human affairs, and that the annus platonicus is not quite ideal!

3. THAT this isle was brightened with the radiance of knowledge and of letters, in ages very far back, admits of no doubt; but that the mythological tales, that disgrace her historic page, have no reference to this period, is equally demonstrable.

But knowledge is as food; and needs no less
 Her temperance over appetite, to know
 In measure what the mind may well contain;
 Oppresses else with surfeit, and soon turns
 Wisdom to folly, as nourishment to wind. Milton.

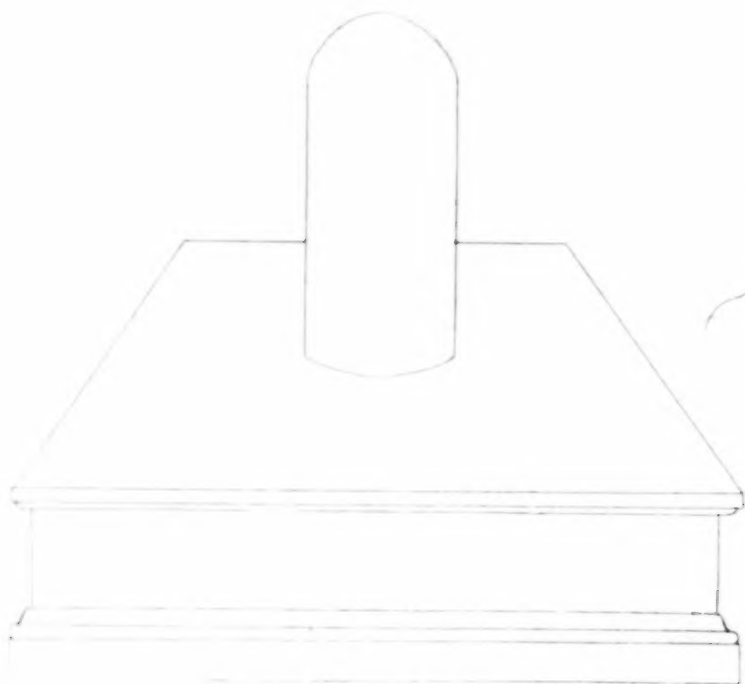
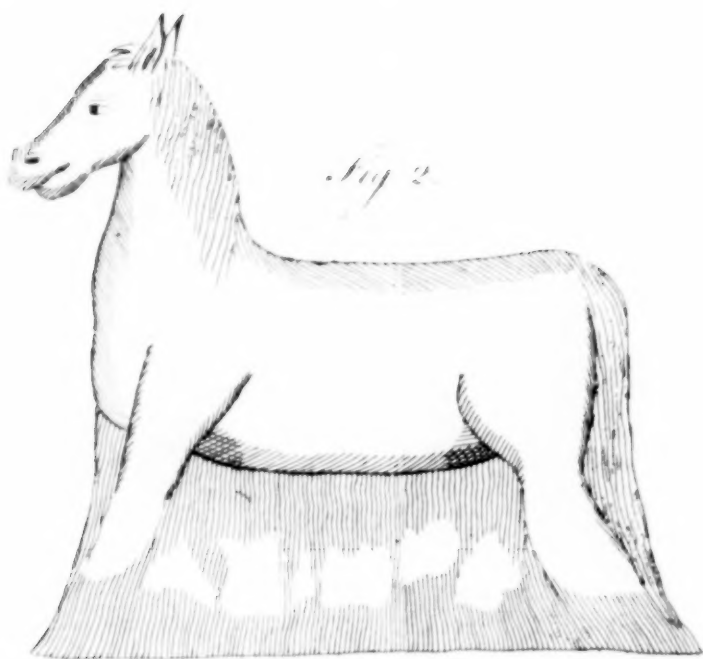
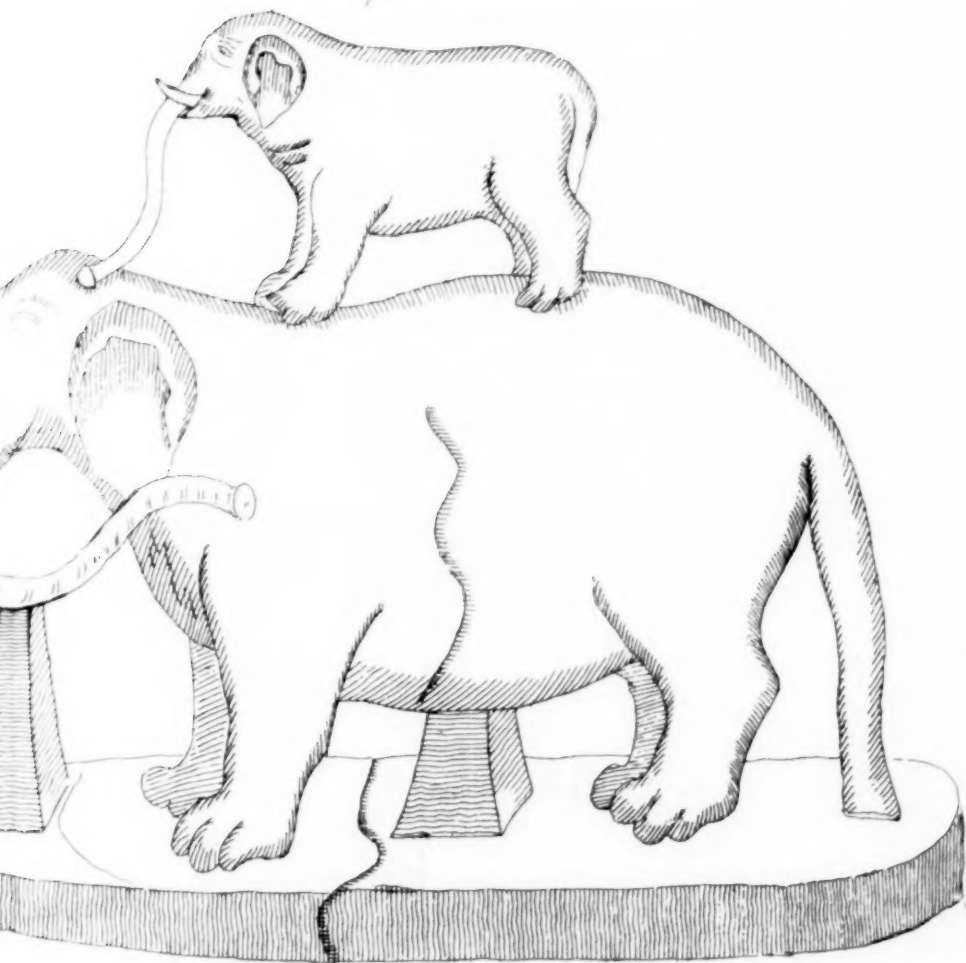


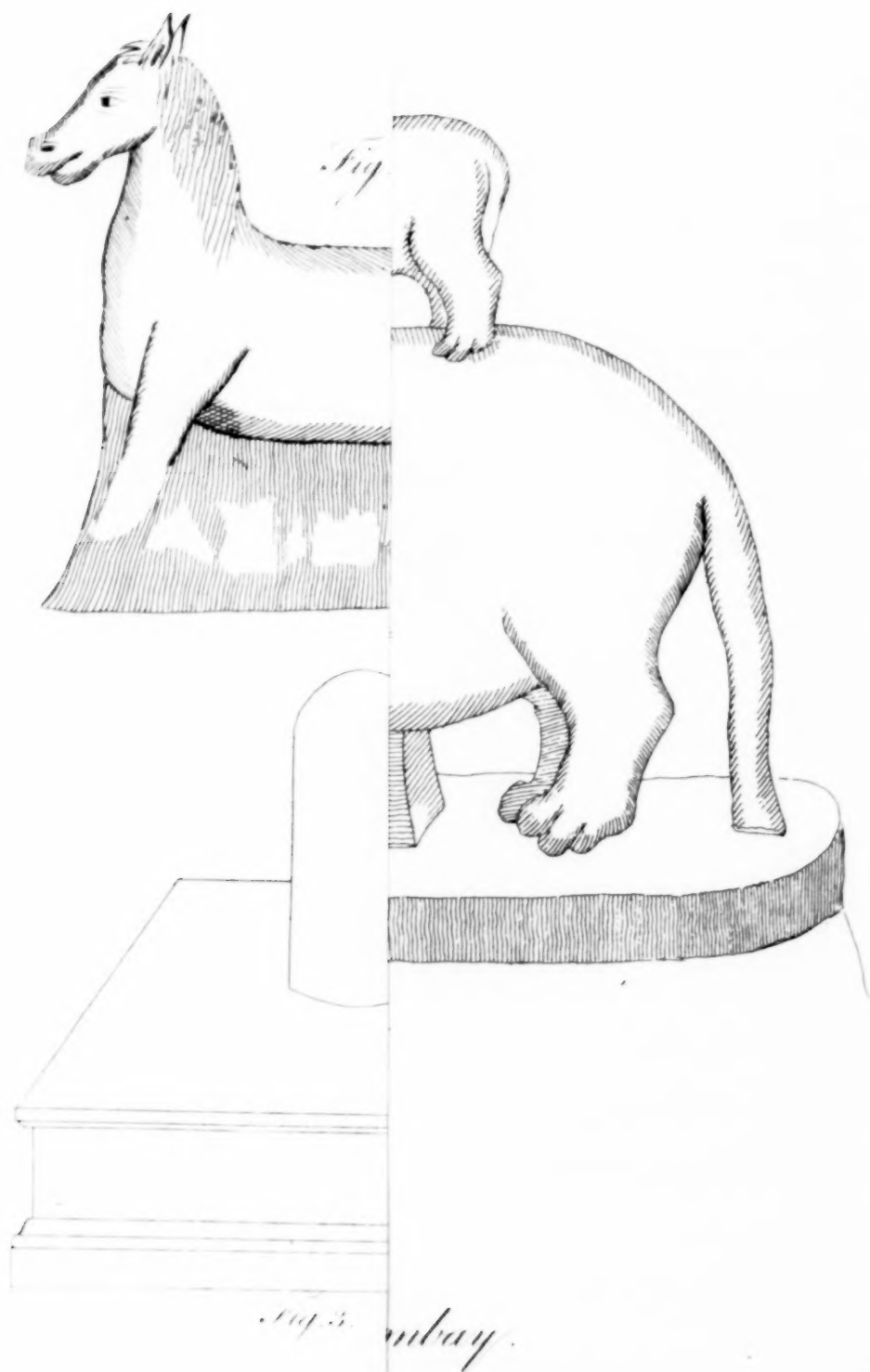
Fig 3

Antiquities at E

Figs.



Elephanta near Bombay.



XXXIV. *Account of a curious Pagoda near Bombay, drawn up by Captain Pyke, who was afterwards Governor of St. Helena. It is dated from on board the Stringer East-Indiaman in Bombay Harbour 1712, and is illustrated with drawings. This extract was made from the Captain's Journal in possession of the honourable the East-India Company. By Alexander Dalrymple, Esq. F. R. and A. S. and communicated to the Society, Feb. 10, 1780.*

Read February 10, 1780.

THE journalist, after stating the motives which induced him to visit the island of Elephanta, the preparations made for his excursion, the persons who accompanied him, and the precautions taken for their safety against the incursion of Caun Ainge Angery [a] who often plundered the island, mentions his landing on the S. E. side thereof. The island takes its name from an elephant in stone (plate XXI. fig. 1.) with another on its back which stands on a small hill and serves as a sea mark, but no tradition remains of the persons who formed or caused the rock to be formed into this shape. As they advanced towards the pagoda through a smooth narrow pass cut out of the rock, they observed another hewn figure which was called

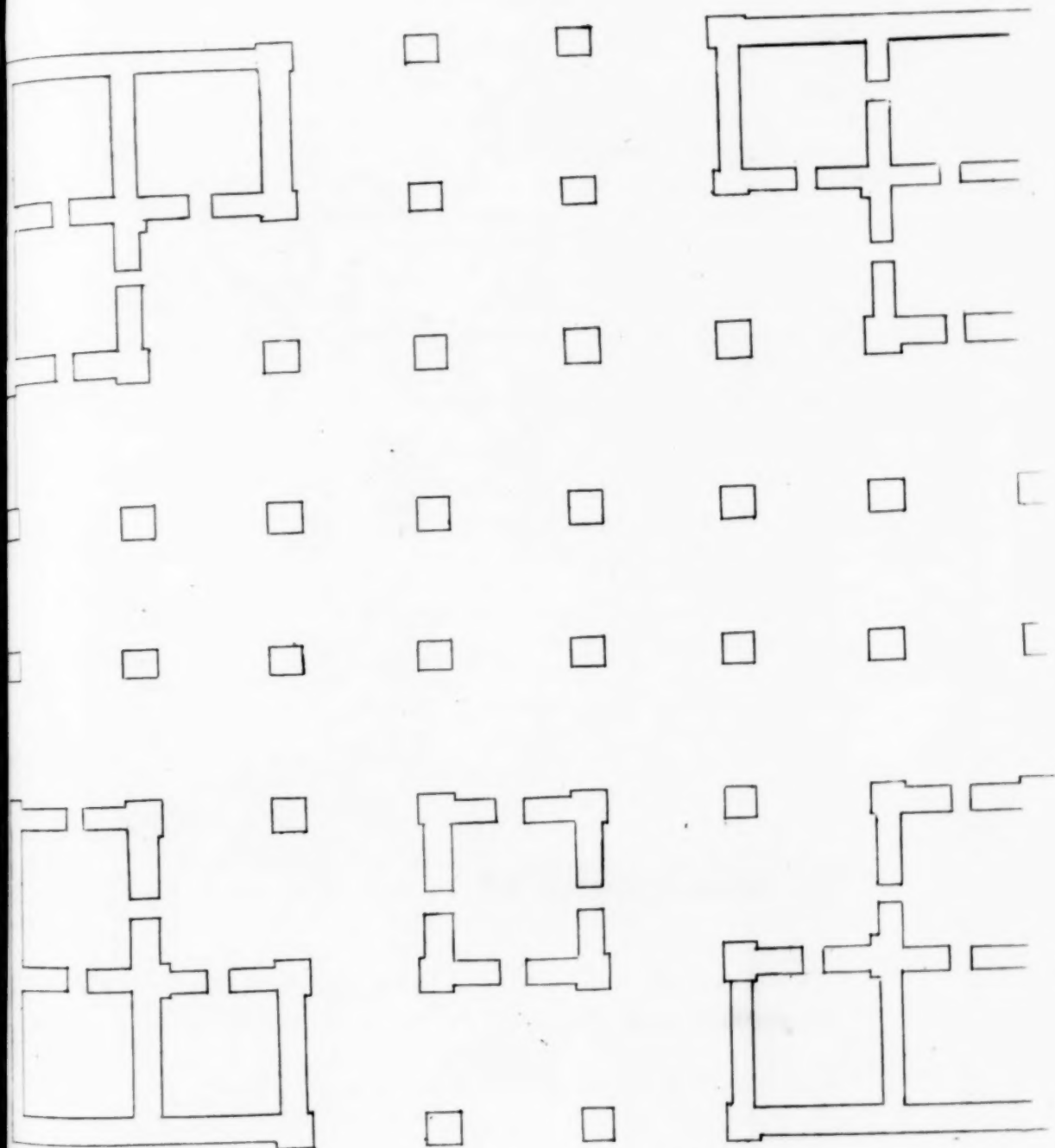
[a] *Connagee Angria*, father of Tulagee Angria, whose capital Geriah was taken by admiral Watfon, Feb. 11, 1756.

Alexander's horse (plate XXI. fig. 2.) though why so named they could not learn [*b*]. Having arrived at the pagoda by an easy ascent up the mountain at the end of the island which affords a variety of delightful prospects, their trouble and curiosity were amply recompensed by the magnificence, spaciousness and singularity of this stupendous work, which far exceeded the relations they had heard of it. Their chief concern now was that the space of a day which they allowed themselves was very inadequate to the time requisite for giving a detail and description of the curious matter it contained. Having measured the length and breadth of this spacious room, they found it to be one hundred and four feet wide, and as many long, and it would have been a complete square, but for some small apartments like vestries taken off from the angles [*c*]. There is no other opening for the admission of light into the temple, but the three great entrances into it on the N. S. and W. sides, so that the middle part and E. side being dark, they were obliged to use candles to survey it properly. The interior part or area within was divided into seven aisles all similar, and the entrance into each alike. The body of it was a vast rock, but excavated and formed with so much judgement that it became a spacious temple. The pillars and other necessary supports and ornaments are cut out of the same solid rock, carved in the manner express'd in the drawings (plate XXIII. fig. 1.) At the E. end of the temple in the chief or middle niche was the image of a queen eighteen feet high, from her waist to the top of her crown. She had three faces (plate XXIII. fig. 2.) and four hands all curiously carved and ornamented.

IN the middle of the S. part of the temple stood a smaller temple, or facellum, cut out of the rock with a door in every

[*b*] This figure, mentioned also by Fryer and Ovington 1672, and highly praised by the latter, is omitted by Mr. Hunter in his description of these caverns Art. XXXI. of this volume.

[*c*] See the plan, plate XXII.



Plan of the Pagoda at Elephanta.

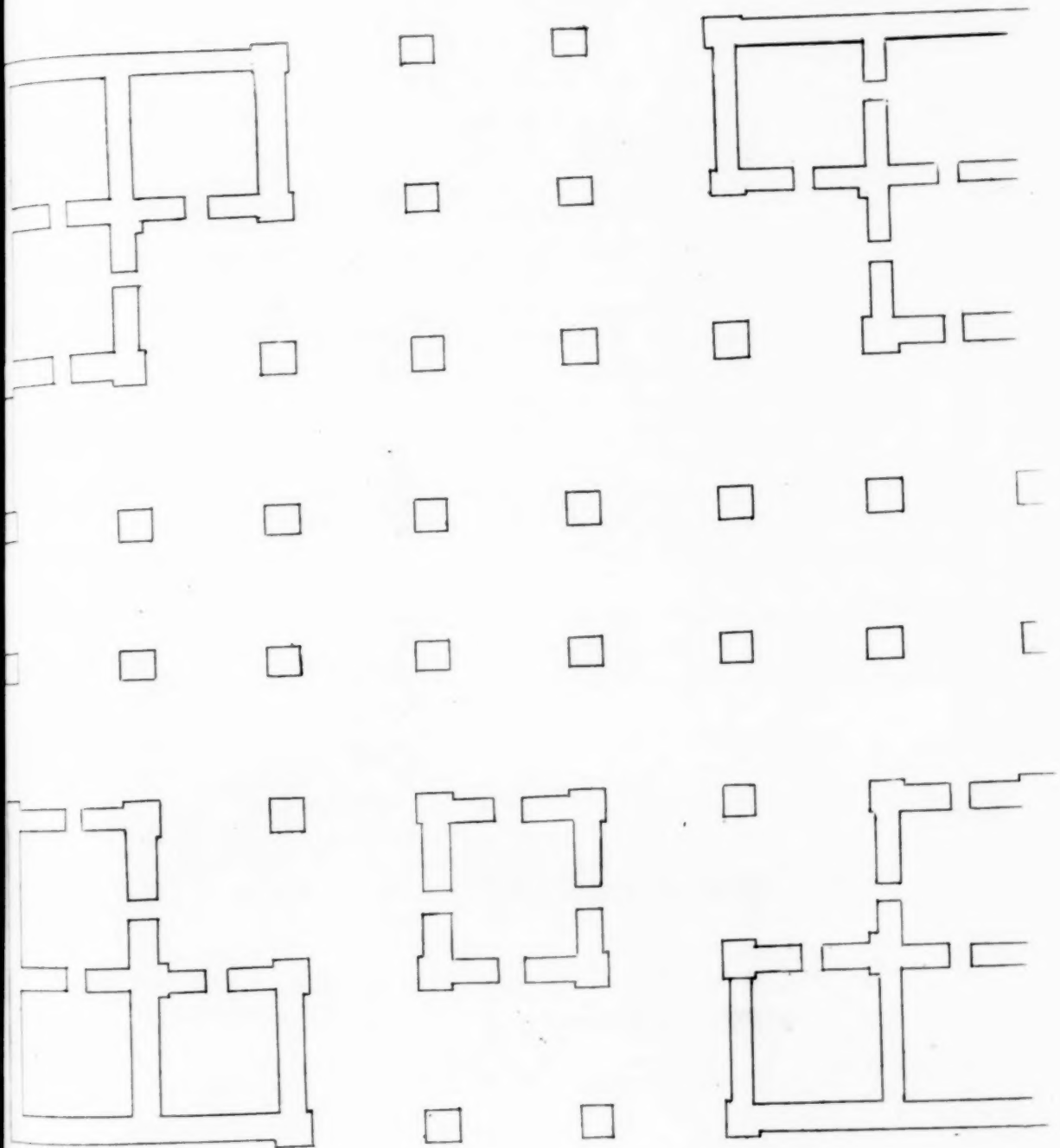
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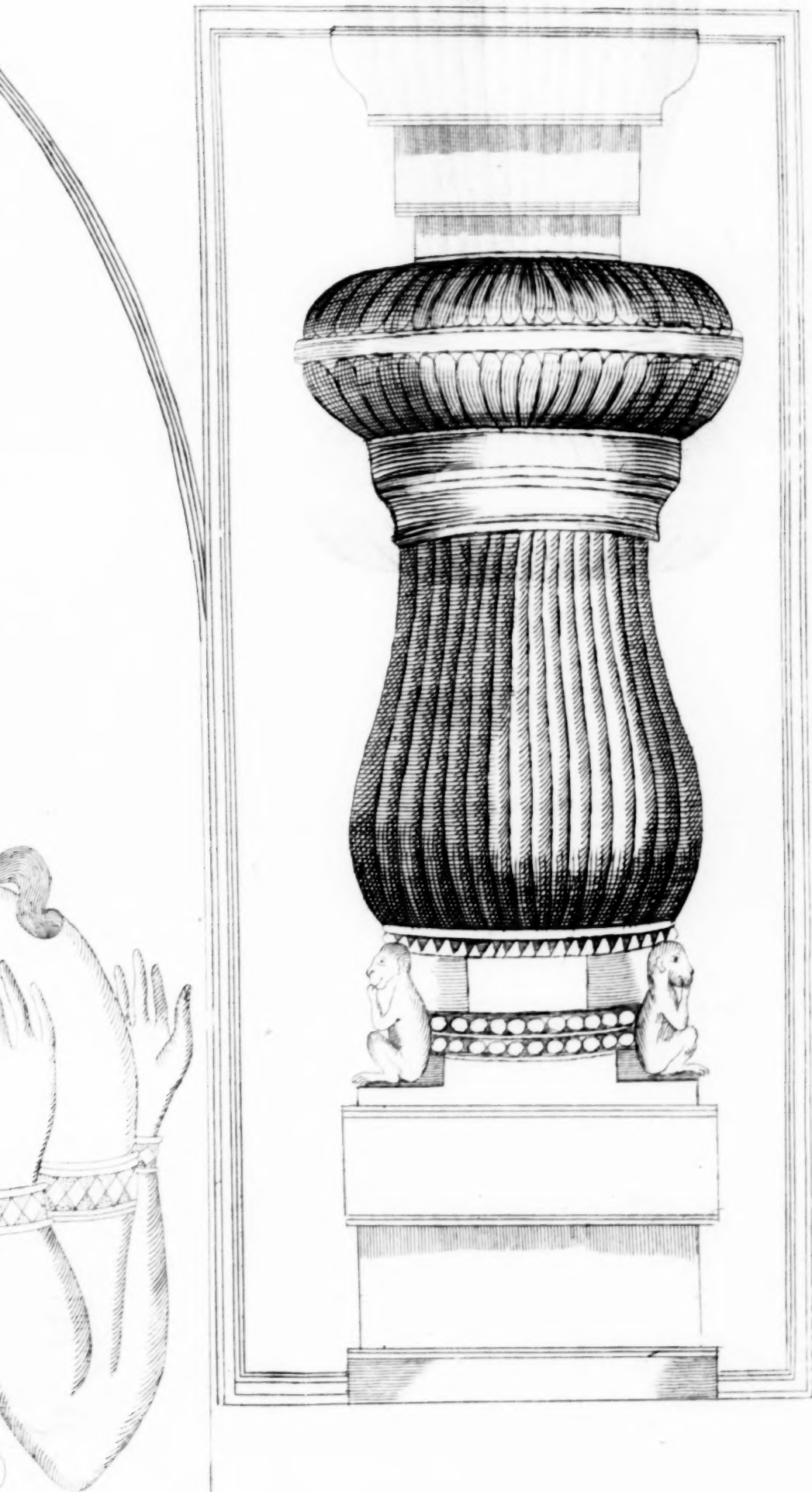


Plan of the Pagoda at Elephanta.

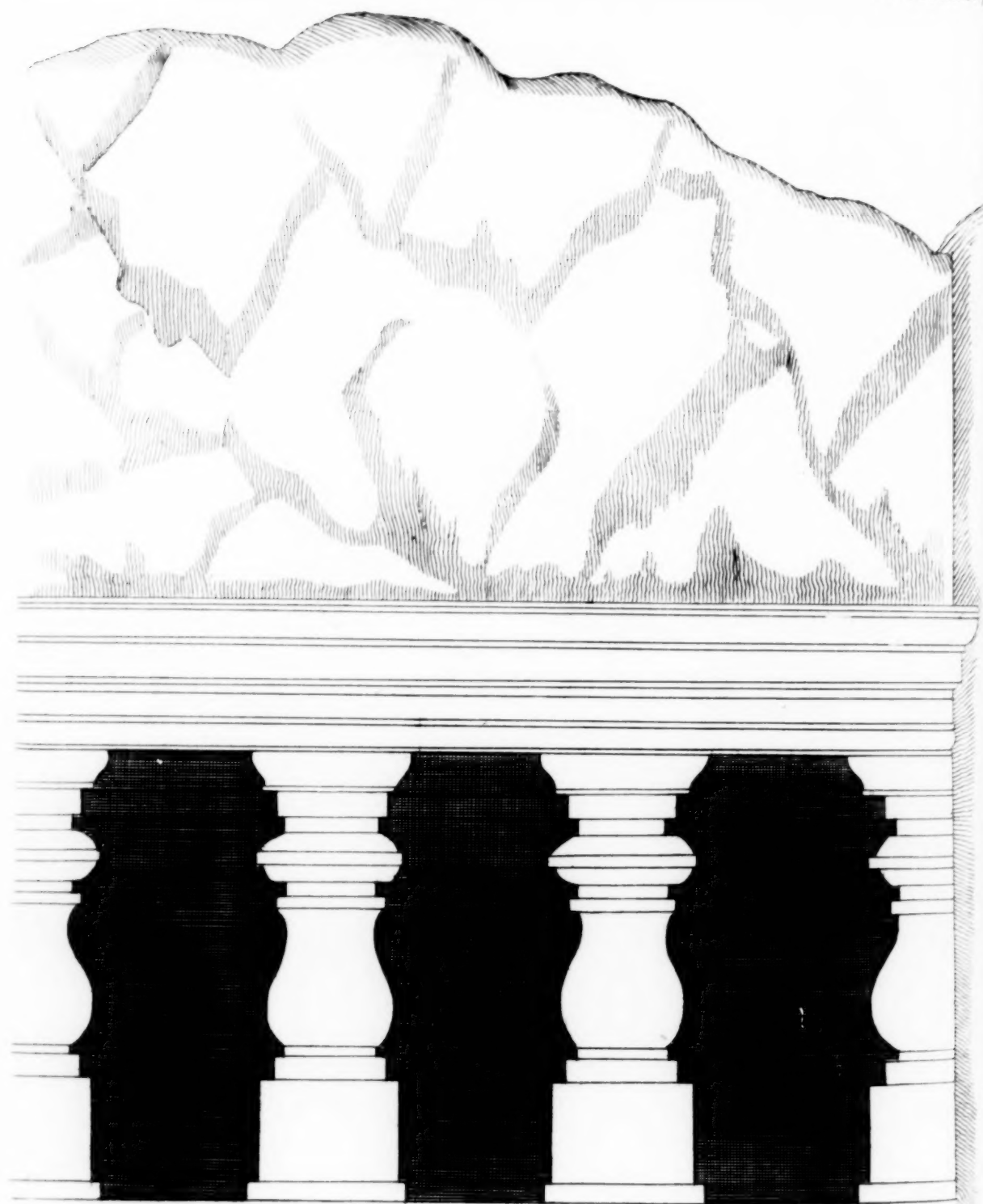


Pillar & Statue in

Fig. 1.



the Pagoda at Elephanta.



Entrance of the Pagoda at Elephanta.

side. It was four-square; in each angle was a pillar, and on each side of every door was an image of a gigantic size, armed at all points as if to defend the sacred place. All within was open and plain, except that in the centre was a square low altar [*d*], on which was placed a large polished stone (plate XXI. fig. 3) of a cylindrical form standing on its base, but the top was round or convex. The Gentoos call this the stone of *Mahody*, and consider it as an emblem of the Supreme Being.

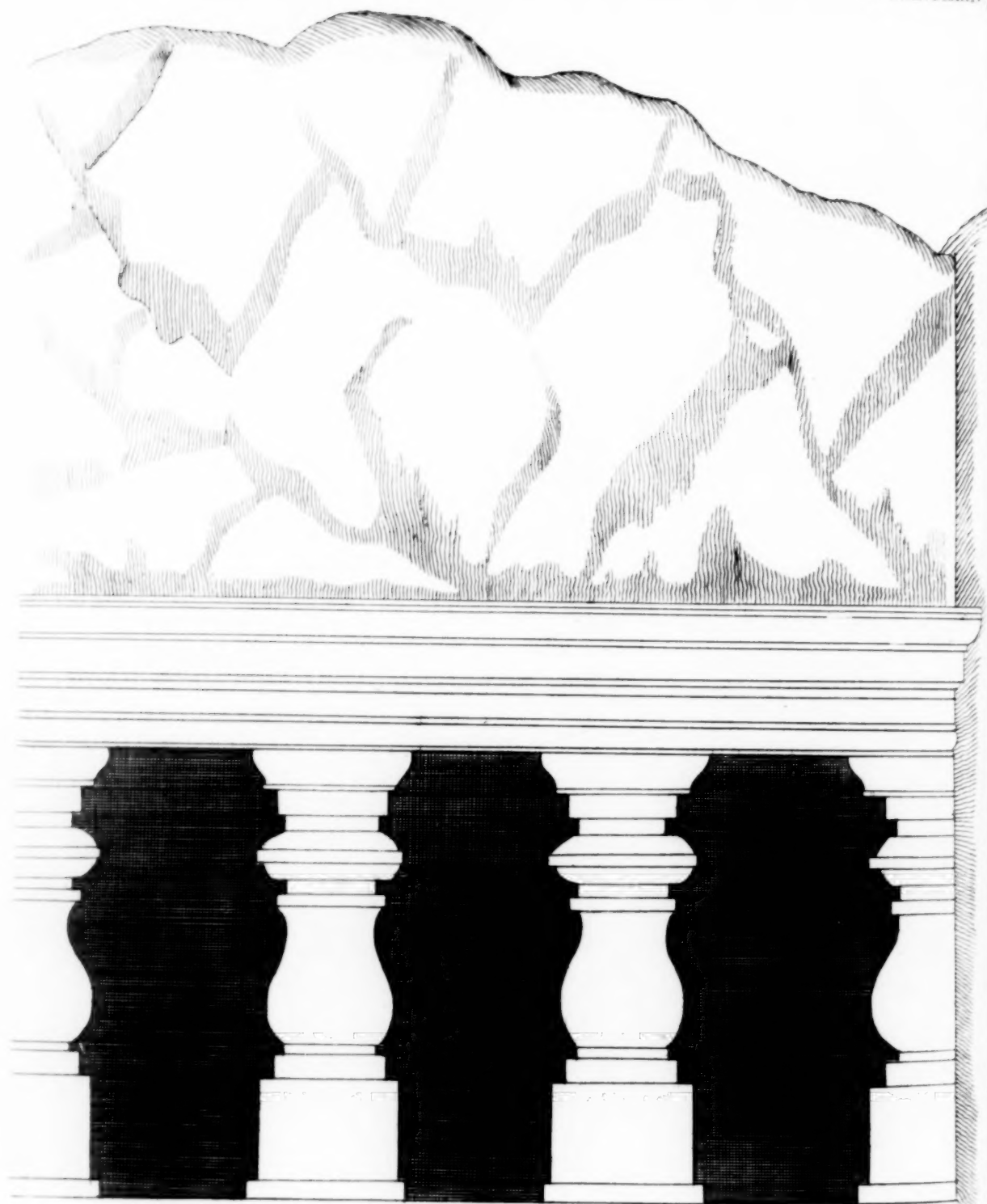
THE roof or cieling of the temple is flat, excepting that there is a representation of beams cut in the stone stretching along from pillar to pillar. There are fifty-two [*e*] pillars and pilasters of an antique shape, which are ten more than Dr. Fryer gives in his description of this temple [*f*]. All the east, north, and southern angles are full of curious imagery of human figures and beasts, and sometimes we see a composition of both: the effigies of great persons compelling their subjects to obedience, others executing justice, others as we conceive by the mildness of their aspect shewing tenderness in their admonitions, and some exhibiting instances of their prowess in arms. A sketch or view of one of the entrances into the temple, as a specimen of the others (for the three are alike) is given in plate XXIV.

IN the S. E. square of the temple were exhibited in carved work all the solemnities of the marriage of a Gentoo prince or Rajah, as we conceived him to be from a particular line or cord, which no others are allowed to wear. Opposite to this is the figure of a king on his throne, with divers attendants, and on each side a woman pleading before him, with a man in armour

[*d*] This Mr. Hunter calls a Mausoleum, p. 289. In the Salfet cave he calls it a cubical mass or pedestal, p. 296. This cave is still used as a temple.

[*e*] Forty-two *Corinthian* pillars. Ovington.

[*f*] Voyage, p. 75.



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[*f*] Voyage, p. 75.

holding a child by the leg with one hand, and a sword in the other as if going to divide the child. This we looked upon as the story of Solomon's wisdom. There were divers other representations, of which we have not the history. There were some figures with four hands, and almost all bore weapons, and had habits of defence: one had the body of a man with the head of an elephant, and some men seemed employed in carrying others on their shoulders. Drawings have been taken of some of these by captain Baker, one of the company, but it would have taken up a month at least to have gone through the whole.

THERE are no inscriptions or characters whereby we might know to what people to ascribe this work, nor sufficient discrimination of dress, for the habits of all the different Indians are described in some figure or another, nor could any man tell who were the antient inhabitants here, nor who were the builders of the temple.

IT is said that the Pagoda in Salfet is superior to this in Elephantia in all respects. Captain Baker has taken great pains to describe it: yet without some joint assistance it must remain unfinished. Ramajee Comje, the company's broker at Bombay, informed the journalist that there are several very fine temples of this nature, far exceeding these already mentioned, which lie up in the country, but that the Moors wherever they come destroyed them, because of the imagery, as do the Portuguese, on account of the idolatry there supposed to be practised: so that most of them now are fallen to decay.

THE earliest accounts of such temples are in Job Ludolphus's History of Ethiopia, who relates (p. 170.) that Negus Lalibala in the thirteenth century, when he came to rule the kingdoms of Ethiopia, sent for artists out of Egypt, and after a wonderful and unheard-of manner of building to that day, he did not
cement

cement stones or bricks together with lime or loom, nor join the roof together with rafters, but hollowed whole solid rocks, leaving pillars for ornaments where pillars were requisite, and arches and walls all of the same stone; of whom the Ethiopic poet sings thus,

To mighty Lalibala peace,
Who stately structures rear'd,
And to adorn the pompous piles
For no expences spar'd
By vast expences and invidious pains
The rock a church became;
The roofs, the floor, and squared sides
All one continued frame.
No stones in blended mortar laid
The solid parts divide;
Nature has carved all without,
Within the workman's pride.

Alvarez gives an account of ten temples all framed after this wonderful manner in Ethiopia, which were twenty-four years in finishing. He gives draughts of them in his history of that country published at Rome.

AND Ludolphus before-cited says, that formerly architecture, as it was in request, was an art well known among them, as the ruins of the city Axuma, and the magnificent temples cut out of the live rock clearly evince. But the imperial seat being removed those buildings grew out of use, the kings being accustomed to arms and camps chusing to abide in tents and pavilions.

HENCE it should seem that the Egyptian artists were the builders of this kind of temples, and that in the days of Negus Lalibala this extraordinary method of building had not been

heard of in Ethiopia, and this but about five hundred years ago; so that the temple of Elephanta should seem to be rather of a later date, for it was not quite finished as appears by some of the figures being but half carved. It is thought probable that when Tamerlane the Great conquered India, he being a Mahometan (from whom the present Mogul is the twelfth in descent), the worship of images was quite overthrown, and the chief of the Gentoos driven to the extremity of the kingdom, and that by the time they had established themselves there the Portuguese under Vasa A. D. 1497, might drive them hence. This account is partly confirmed by the reports of the Banians, who relate that all the former inhabitants of those islands are now removed into the Rajah's countries, where they are protected in the exercise of their religion.

LINSCHOTEN in his voyages to India mentions this Pagoda of Elephanta, which in his time he says was esteemed the chief of all the rest [g]. The true name of the island in *Pory*, but by the Portuguese it is called *Elephanta*. He deems it the work of the Chinese when they were accustomed to traffic in India; but when the Portuguese settled in Malacca they prohibited the Chinese vessels from passing, and about the same time took possession of these islands. The journalist admits that a great deal of the workmanship looks like Chinese, as their open porticoes, their tanks, cornices, and beams, &c. and the first mentioned figure in the middle of the East side is not unlike the Chinese idol called *Quonieng Poussa*: but formerly it seems the Chinese frequently altered the forms of their idols for others which grew more in vogue in other parts: as an instance hereof he mentions that in a great pagoda at *Chusan* he saw *Quonieng Poussa's* figure sitting on an ass with a child in her arms.

As to the opinion that Alexander the Great was the author of these extraordinary works, it is observed that they have nothing

[g] B. I. c. 44. p. 80. Engl. edit. 1598.

in them of the Grecian or Persian style, and that his stay in India was too short for such an undertaking, and moreover that he was not in that part of India, nor do any writers of his life attribute them to him. The Bramins indeed report that their holy men in the Rajah's countries can give an account of all these matters, and that they are recorded in their Manuscript books.

As to the altar of *Mahody*, he tells us that no offerings were to be made there, but those of clean and unpolluted minds. There stood in three several chapels or lesser temples such an altar as this, no ways differing but in size, except one that stood in a bank of water, about eight inches deep, to prevent any thing unclean coming near it. The inside of these temples were devoid of all kind of carved work or other ornament, but in their festivals they used rich perfumes, incense, and the finest flowers to make a sweet smelling odour, burning at the same time lights within.

At the north and south entrances of the island are other pagodas full of images, except the interior of the Mahody's temples, and each has a square tank of spring water near it or in it to purify all that entered. But the Portuguese now fodder all their cattle there in the rainy seasons, and to defend them from the violence of the monsoons; and lately one of their Fidalgo's, to divert himself with the echo which is here most admirable, fired a great gun into it with several shot which has broken some of the pillars, but the fabric seems to be as durable as ever.

SOME of the company surveyed the top of the mountain, and said that every part yielded a curious prospect being situated in the most delightful part of all these islands. The water is excellent and the land fruitful, and the greater part of the island consisting of elevated ground, liable to be ventilated by every

breeze, is likely to be a healthy spot. There is said to be another pagoda at the distance of half a mile, besides those before-mentioned.

ALL the pillars and pilasters that seem to support the temple are of the shape described in plate XXIII. and are seventeen feet high, on which beams are represented lying across which seem to raise the ceiling higher. The pillar in the view of the entrance (pl. XXIV.) is drawn too small, each part of it being rather of the same proportion as that in plate XXIII.

THE sizes of the two pagodas on the north and south side of the large one are, that on the north side fifty-eight feet long, and twenty-four feet wide with four similar columns, at the south part of which is a chapel full of fine imagery. One of these figures with a human body and an elephant's head they feign to have been a cruel and tyrannical Rajah (for all the Deities they imagine to have been so at first), who had a son in whom the people had great comfort on account of his mildness and other virtues. But one day as the son slept the father cut off his head, and threw it into the sea. A great prophet passing by, and seeing what was done, denounced severe judgements and calamities on the prince. The mother having applied to the prophet to restore her son's life, he ordered the head of some noble beast to be cut off, and placed on the head of the prince. Accordingly the head of a young elephant (for no nobler beast was at hand) was cut off, and applied as the prophet directed. It grew to the prince's body, and he lived, and became famous, and governed the kingdom after his father's death, married, and his wife bore him a white elephant, of whom wonderful stories are told. The imagery of this place seems newer than the rest. Opposite to this is another temple of the same bigness, but without imagery. It is full of water about one foot deep, a natural spring breaking into it. In the middle is also a Mahody temple

ple twenty-four feet square, an aisle of nine feet wide going round it. In the front of the entrance is an armed woman with six hands. At the south side of the great temple is also a large tank of water, then a pagoda of the same kind, but not above ten feet high. The colonnade is fifty feet long, with a chapel to Mahody, and another dark room of twenty-seven feet square. In the two last is the figure of a naked woman with six hands, each bearing a different weapon. It was set out with much carved work and many jewels, and measured from the top of the crown to the waist eighteen feet.

THUS far the extract from captain Pyke's Journal, which is the most particular account of this place that has been given by our countrymen till Mr. Hunter's description printed p. 286.

LINSCHOTEN who visited this place in 1579 [a], Dr. Fryer [b] in 1672, the rev. Mr. John Ovington [c] in 1689, and captain A. Hamilton [d], who was here a little before Mr. Pyke, give but a short account of these places.

Mr. Thevenot describes a similar temple at *Elora* or *Iloura* 1667 [e]. Anquetil du Perron [f] describes that, this of Elephanta [g], that of Canari, Poniter or Mompesir in the island of Salset [h], and in this last he has copied some inscriptions. The latest and indeed most compleat description is by Niebuhr, who has given plates of all the different releifs, as well as plans and elevations of the buildings.

[a] B. I. c. 44.

[b] Travels, p. 75.

[c] Voyage to Surat, p. 158.

[d] Voyage, vol. I. c. 20. p. 238, &c.

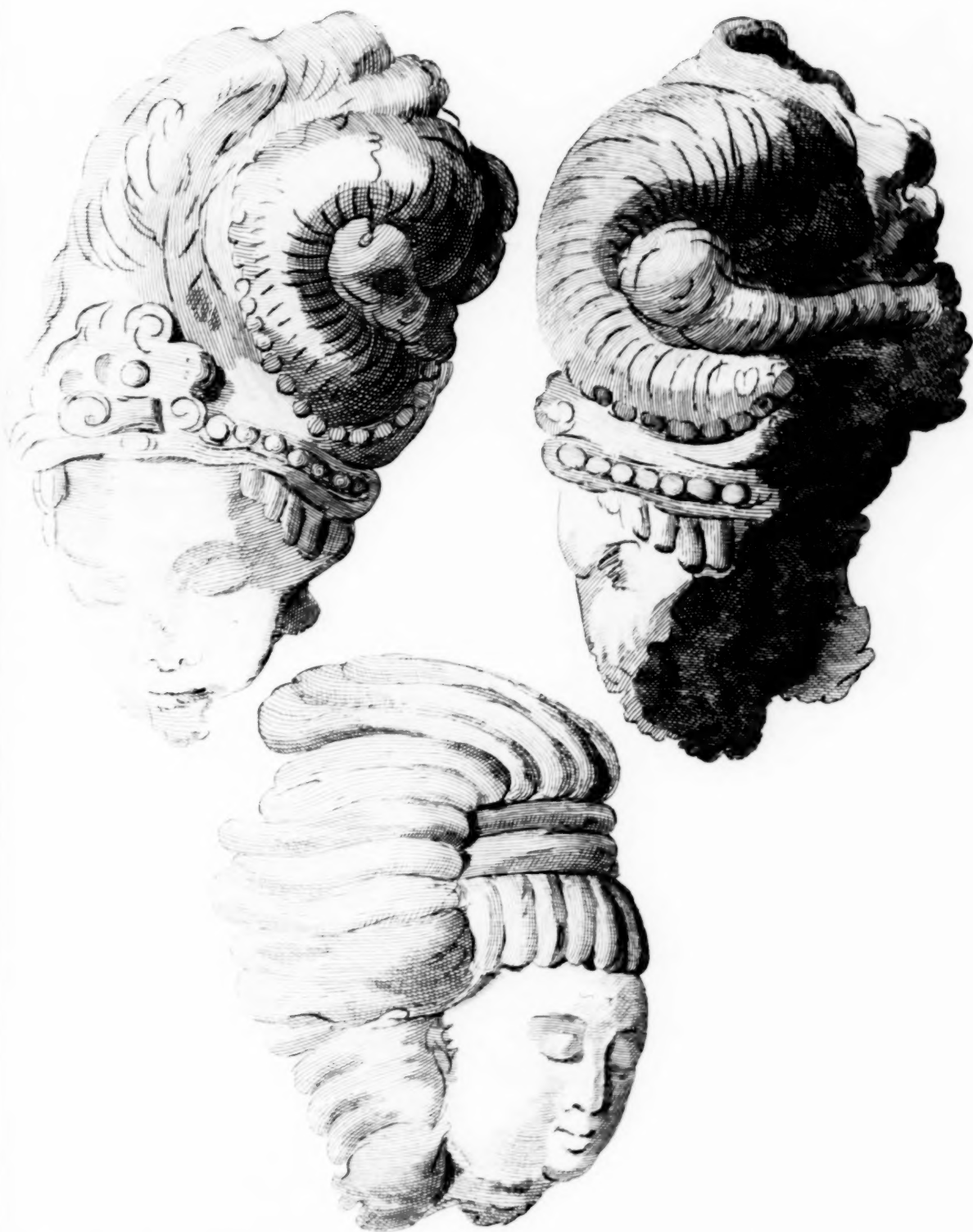
[e] Travels, part III. c. 45. p. 75. English edit.

[f] Zend Avesta, I. p. 234-249.

[g] Ibid. p. 419.

[h] Ibid. p. 394-413.

PLATE XXV. XXVI. and XXVII. contain heads in the collection of Sir Ashton Lever, brought from some of these cavern temples in the neighbourhood of Bombay. The Society are possessed of a drawing of another groupe of figures from the same quarter, brought over by captain Allen of his majesty's ship Cumberland. This mass or groupe represents on one of its angles three busts or half length figures, and on the other angle two or three more, of which one holds up a child on its back, its legs resting on the shoulders of the figure, and exhibiting a representation perhaps not unlike that which suggested to hasty superficial beholders the story of Solomon's decision between the two mothers.



Three Nemeses in the Collection of L. de Laborde. The first is a female figure near the head of a



No. 116. Relief, in the Collection of J. S. Wilson. Found in a cave near Bombay



An. Alto Relievo, in the Collection of L^d. Ashton. Found in a cave near Bombay

XXXV. *Extract by the late Smart Lethieullier, Esq. from the Papers of the late Charles Boon, Esq. Governor of Bombay, giving an account of the great Pagoda on the Island of Salset.*

Read February 17, and June 1, 1780.

SALSET is an island lying in the great Indian ocean, north of Goa, and separated from Bombay by a narrow channel. It is seventy miles in compass, twenty in length, and fifteen in breadth. The soil is fruitful, and the island intirely under the dominion of the Portuguese. It has in it several villages inhabited by Heathens, Moors and Christians. Within the island, and four miles from any house, and surrounded by thick woods abounding with lions, tigers, monkeys, and other wild and venomous animals, stand four very high hills contiguous to each other, and looking like one intire rock by the surface, which bears strong marks of calcination. On the sides of these hills are many pagodas, caverns, apartments, and other excavations cut out of the rock, called at this day *the city of Canorin*, from a village of that name adjoining.

LINSCHOTEN, in his Voyage to the East Indies, published 1598 [a], gives us some account of these magnificent works: and Dr. John Francis Gemelli Carreri, in his voyage round the

[a] Part I. c. 44.

world,

world, undertaken in 1693 [b], is very particular in describing them. But his account not being illustrated by draughts, it is impossible to form any idea from it. He names a great number of pagodas, stairs, cisterns and idols, of which last he reckons up above six hundred, ninety of them in and about the great pagoda, which he tells us may be esteemed the greatest wonder in Asia; and he expresses his surprize that it should be so little known to Europeans.

CHARLES BOON, Esq. while he was governor of Bombay, procured the principal part of this work to be measured and delineated, and a particular account of it to be drawn up for the better understanding the drawings [b]. They are seven in number, one exhibiting the inside view of the temple; another, one of the columns on a larger scale; one of each figure twenty-seven feet high; one of the figures of idols sitting with their legs under them, as the present Malabars do.

THE western hill claims the greatest attention of any of those before recited. In this is the chief temple, or pagoda, which so justly challenges the admiration of all that behold it. The ascent to it is by five steps, through a wall breast-high, into a small court, where on each side appears a stately column finished with capitals and a base: from thence two steps more lead into another small court; on each side the entrance of which is an inscription, which is repeated in two other places in the temple. At the end of this court are two surprizing figures; one of a man, the other of a woman, each twenty-seven feet high, and in a very good proportion. They are placed in niches circular at top, with pilasters on each side fluted two-thirds of the way, and then turning spirally. They seem also to have

[b] These or copies of them were purchased at the sale of Mr. Lethicullier's library for the royal collection.

been painted, by the remains of red and blue which appear upon them. This entry leads into the body of the temple, which is forty feet high to the crown of the arch, eighty-four feet long, and forty-six broad; the roof is supported all round by thirty-four massive pillars, five feet distant from the sides, and at the same distance from each other. These pillars are extremely beautiful, octagonal, and about five feet diameter, only six on the right hand and eleven on the left finished, and these with the greatest accuracy both as to the proportion and capitals, which are adorned with the figures of elephants, horses, tigers, boys, and vegetables, in an exact and accurate manner. Round the temple are two rows of holes to set lamps in. At the farther end is the great pagoda, or altar, in a convex shape, twenty-seven feet high, and twenty diameter. Over it is a great concave dome, and round the altar are places to set lamps in. Above in the same rock are the apartments, which are the usual lodgings of those whose curiosity leads them to visit this noble monument of antiquity. The ascent from the temple to them is by a flight of two hundred steps cut in the rock. You first enter a piazza about twenty feet broad, then mounting up some steps you come into a gallery about seventy feet long, supported by large octagonal pillars; at the east end is a small room in which are the images of their gods, and several figures in suppliant postures round them. At a small distance on each side their heads are clouds with angels and cherubims flying in them. Having come to this gallery, you enter a very large hall, round which are several rooms about ten feet square. All the rooms, galleries, &c. are arched at the top, and lighted by holes cut through the rock for that purpose. Several little channels are cut from all parts of the hills to supply the cisterns, many of which are continually full of very good water.

THESE

THESE rocks are all of a very porous stone, but whatever they were formerly they are now so hard that scarce any tool can penetrate them.

UPON the whole the person who took the draughts, and drew up the account upon the spot, declares his eye was struck with a prospect so delightful and surprizing, in regard to the magnitude and curiosity of this stupendous work, that when he attentively considered it, he did not doubt but it must have been the labour of forty thousand men for forty years together. Time and the zeal of the Portuguese have defaced a great deal: when they first took the island, they, imagining those places to be the habitations of spirits and demons, used constantly to discharge their great guns at them, which has left many of them in a very maimed and broken condition.

XXXVI. *Subsidy Roll of 51 Edward III. communicated
by John Topham, Esq. F. R. S. F. S. A.*

Read December 23, 1784.

I HAVE the honour to lay before the Society the transcript of a record, which, in my opinion, contains some valuable historical facts. It is divided into three parts. The first part contains the return of a subsidy granted by parliament to king Edward III. in the fifty-first year of his reign A. D. 1377, of four pence to be paid by every *lay* person in the kingdom, as well male as female, of the age of fourteen years and upwards; real mendicants only excepted. The grant of this subsidy may be seen in that valuable repository of historical information the Rolls of Parliament, vol. II. p. 364. This return states the sums of money which had been levied by the collectors of this tax in the different counties, cities, and principal towns in England, separately; and the number of persons at that time being in each county, city and town, subject to the payment thereof. The sum received amounted to 22,607 *l.* 2 *s.* 8 *d.* paid by 1,376,442 *lay* persons of the age of fourteen years and upwards; but it must be remarked, that the counties palatine of Chester and Durham, having their own receivers, are not included in this return: and it must likewise be observed that the sum raised doth not correspond with the number of persons stated to have

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paid

paid the tax; for the sum of 22,607 *l.* 2 *s.* 8 *d.* only contains 1,356,428 groats.

THE clergy in those times had the privilege of taxing themselves, and of collecting their own taxes; and therefore they are not comprized in the general return; but the second part of this record contains the subsidy of *twelve pence* paid by every *beneficed* ecclesiastic in the kingdom; exempt and not exempt, privileged and not privileged; and by all abbots, priors, abbesses, prioresses, monks, canons, canonesse, and other regulars of whatever order, sex or condition; the four orders of mendicants only excepted; and also of *four pence* paid by every priest, deacon, sub-deacon, accolite and those obtaining the first clerical tonsure, exceeding the age of fourteen years. This return states the sums which had been collected in every diocese in England (except Durham) from the *beneficed* and *non-beneficed* clergy under different columns; and it appears that the receipt amounted to 994 *l.* 12 *s.* 8 *d.* paid by 15,380 *beneficed*, and 13,781 *non-beneficed*, making together 29,161 religious persons then in England, who were subject to the payment of this subsidy.

AN ancient and usual mode of taxation in this kingdom, was by grants of certain proportions of the moveables and personal property of the subject to be taken for a limited time; Tenth, fifteenth, twentieth or other shares were granted by parliament; and taxors and assessors were appointed to make the collection in the different counties according to a form of taxation approved by parliament, and delivered to them for their guide in making the collections. Several of these forms of taxation are printed in the Rolls of Parliament, which shew that the whole of the personal property was actually valued, and the share granted was taken therefrom by the collectors. This mode continued until the 8th year of king Edward III. in which year it was ordained that the tenth and fifteenth [a] granted in that

[a] A tenth by cities and boroughs, and a fifteenth by the counties at large.

year should be levied according to the form which had been used in the preceding year; from that period the same form was continued, whereby the sum granted became fixed and certain; so that when a tenth and a fifteenth were granted by parliament, it was known what sum the tax would raise, and the record now before us, in the third part, preserves a return of a fifteenth and a tenth granted to king Edward III. in the forty-seventh year of his reign, as collected in every county in England (except the counties palatine of Chester and Durham) specifying the sum raised in each respective county; and it appears that the whole of the money raised by this tax amounted to 38,170*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.* 4.

THESE are *data* which tend to illustrate the state of the population and revenues of this kingdom at the period of time to which they relate, and appear to me, upon that account to be curious and interesting, and to deserve the attention of this Society.

JOHN TOPHAM.

I.

Subsidium quatuor denar' regi Edw. 3^{ro} conc' anno regni sui 51^{mo} de qual' p'sona laica homin' et femin',
excedent' accciam quatuordecim annor', duntamen dñe p'sone mendicant' evident', non existant'; in com'
civit' et villis subscriptis, videlt.

Derb'.	{ Collector' in com' Derb'	respond' de	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	coll' de	personis laicis.
	{ Collect' in villa Derb'	respond' de	387	7	7	coll' de	23,243
Nott'.	{ Coll in com' Nott'	respond' de	17	8	8	coll' de	4,046
	{ Coll in vill' Nott'	respond' de	436	13	4	coll' de	26,260
Glouc'.	{ Coll in vill' de Newerke	respond' de	24	2	4	coll' de	1,447
	{ Coll in com' Glouc'	respond' de	19	12	8	coll' de	1,178
	{ Coll in vill' Glouc'	respond' de	612	13	4	coll' de	37,660
Kanc'.	{ Coll in civitat' Cantuar'	respond' de	37	6	4	coll' de	2,239
	{ Coll in civitat' Ross'	respond' de	42	18	0	coll' de	2,574
	{ Coll in com' Kane'	respond' de	9	10	0	coll' de	570
	{ Coll in com' Suff'	respond' de	942	12	4	coll' de	56,557
	{ Coll in villa de Gippewico	respond' de	976	16	8	coll' de	58,610
Norff'	{ Coll in com' Norff'	respond' de	24	9	0	coll' de	1,507
&	{ Coll in civitat' Norwic'	respond' de	1,479	19	0	coll' de	88,797
Suff'.	{ Coll in villa de Lenn	respond' de	65	17	5	coll' de	3,952
	{ Coll in villa de Jernemouthe	respond' de	52	2	4	coll' de	3,127
	{ Coll in villa de S'co Edmun'	respond' de	30	13	8	coll' de	1,941
Bristol'	{ Coll in villa Bristol' quest' com' p se redd'	respond' de	40	15	0	coll' de	2,442
			105	15	0	coll' de	6,345
							Salop'.

		respond de	£.	s.	d.	coll' de	pson' laic.
Leic.	{ Coll' in villa Leic'	respond de	35	0	4	coll' de	2,101
Midd.	{ Coll' in com' Leic'	respond de	528	16	8	coll' de	31,730
Warr.	{ Coll' in com' Midd'	respond de	187	7	8	coll' de	11,243
Westm.	{ Coll' in villa de Covent'	respond de	80	5	8	coll' de	4,817
Roteland.	{ Coll' in com' Warr'	respond de	424	2	8	coll' de	25,448
Essex.	{ Coll' in com' Westm.	respond de	123	3	0	coll' de	7,389
Cornub.	{ Coll' in com' Roteland'	respond de	38	4	0	coll' de	3,092
Suffex.	{ Coll' in com' Essex'	respond de	799	7	4	coll' de	47,962
Wigorn.	{ Coll' in villa Colcest'r'	respond de	49	5	0	coll' de	2,955
Berk.	{ Coll' in com' Cornub'	respond de	571	4	8	coll' de	34,274
	{ Coll' in com' Suffex'	respond de	588	15	4	coll' de	35,326
	{ Coll' in civitat' Cicestr'	respond de	14	9	8	coll' de	869
	{ Coll' in com' Wigorn'	respond de	242	7	4	coll' de	14,542
	{ Coll' in civitat' Wigorn'	respond de	25	19	0	coll' de	1,557
	{ Coll' in com' Berk'	respond de	378	14	4	coll' de	22,723
	{ Coll' in West-Riding	respond de	802	9	8	coll' de	48,149
	{ Coll' in villa de Beverley	respond de	44	7	8	coll' de	2,663
	{ Coll' in ptibus Est-Riding	respond de	637	6	0	coll' de	38,238
	{ Coll' in villa de Kingdon sup Hull	respond de	25	19	0	coll' de	1,557
	{ Coll' in civitat' Ebor'	respond de	120	16	0	coll' de	7,248
	{ Coll' in ptibus de North-Riding	respond de	554	1	8	coll' de	33,185
	{ Coll' in civitat' Bathon'	respond de	9	10	0	coll' de	570
	{ Coll' in com' Somerset	respond de	910	1	0	coll' de	54,603
	{ Coll' in villa Welles	respond de	19	6	0	coll' de	1,172
	{ Coll' in com' Hereford'	respond de	255	6	0	coll' de	15,318
	{ Coll' in civitat' Hereford'	respond de	31	14	4	coll' de	1,903
	{ Coll' in villa Lodelowe	respond de	19	6	0	coll' de	1,172
							Hertford.

II.

Subsidium trium grossior' aut duodecim denar' dño regi E. avo regis huius conc' anno regni sui LI^o de qualt psona eccliaſtica qualitercunq' bñficiata, exempta et non exempta, privilegiata et non privilegiata; ac de ſinglis abbatib', priorib', abbatiffis, prioriffis, monachis, canonicis, canoniſſis, et ſinglis aliis regularib' quibuscunq' cuſcuſcumq' ordinis ſexus aut conditionis exiſtant quovimodo poſſeſſionat'; quatuor ordinibus mendicancium dumtaxat excepti. Nec non unius groſſe ſive quatuor' denar' de quolt ſacerdote, diacono, ſubdiacono, accolito et primam obtinente tonſuram clericalem, ac de qualibet pſona hoſpitalium poſſeſſiones habencium, excedent' æratem quatuordecim annorum &c.

		<i>L.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	coll' de	Benefic'.	Non
Lincol'.	{ Coll' in archi Lincol', Stowe, Leic', et Roteland' }	127	18	4	coll' de	2001 et de	1660
Cantuar'.	{ Coll' in archi Norht', Hunt', Buck', Oxon', et Bedetord' }	100	9	8	coll' de	1522	1313
Bathon'.	{ Coll' in dioc' Cantuar' }	38	4	0	coll' de	599	495
Wellen'.	{ Coll' in arch' Bathon' }	6	16	4	coll' de	119	82
	{ Coll' in arch' Taunton }	8	3	0	coll' de	139	72
	{ Coll' in arch' Wellen' }	22	7	0	coll' de	335	336
Sar'.	{ Coll' in arch' Berk' et Wilheſ' }	27	3	0	coll' de	461	246
	{ Coll' in arch' Dorſ' et Sar' }	44	9	8	coll' de	734	467
Exon'.	{ Coll' in com' Devon' }	40	12	0	coll' de	559	756
Elieſt'.	{ Coll' in com' Cornub' }	18	1	0	coll' de	199	487
	{ Coll' in dioc' Elien' }	28	14	0	coll' de	358	648
							Cicestr'.

III.

XVth et Xth regi Edw. III. anno regni sui XLVII^o concessar' in com' et civitatib' subscriptis, videlt.

	l.	s.	d.
Coll' in com' Glouc'	1422	0	7
Coll' in com' Bed'	674	17	4
Coll' in com' Berk'	1036	3	9
Coll' in com' Not'	706	2	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Coll' in com' North'	1161	0	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
Coll' in com' Dor'	851	9	21
Coll' in com' Lanc'	377	9	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
Coll' in com' Wilt'	1595	13	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
Coll' in com' Suff'	1439	5	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
Coll' in partib' de Lyndesey	1526	2	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
Coll' in partib' de Kesteven	953	14	4
Coll' in partib' de Holland'	665	11	8
Coll' in com' Hertford'	610	3	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
Coll' in com' Midd'	341	19	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
Coll' in com' Hereford'	437	5	11
Coll' in com' Oxon'	1403	11	6
Coll' in partib' West Riding	738	10	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
Coll' in partib' Est Riding	1053	13	0
Coll' in partib' North Riding	617	4	1
Coll' in civitat' Ebor'	162	0	0
Coll' in vill' de Kinglton sup' Hull	33	6	8
			Coll'

XXXVII. *ON the radical Letters of the Pelasgians and their derivatives.* By Thomas Afle, Esq.

Read January 13, 1785.

A KNOWLEDGE of the radical letters of any language, is the surest means of obtaining information respecting the sounds of which such language was composed, and of the state of it when these radical letters only were used. This will best enable us to recover those which have been for many ages so intirely neglected as to be in a manner effaced. The utility which results from a distinction of the radical letters of such languages from their derivatives is too obvious to need any illustration; the separation of the one from the other, will assist in forming a right judgment of the age and authenticity of coins, inscriptions, and other ancient documents, and will be of the greatest use in distinguishing such as are genuine from those which are spurious. The Pelasgian language and letters had been so intirely neglected and disused for so long a period of time before the restoration of science in the fifteenth century, that they were in a manner as much unknown as if they had never existed, although they had been used in all the extensive countries settled by the Pelasgi and their descendents, as well in Asia as in Europe, who for many ages wrote from right to left, till their alphabet was improved by the *Ionians*, who reversing their letters, wrote from left to right, and in process of time their method of writing was universally adopted in Europe, and in some parts of Asia.

I CONCEIVE I have elsewhere proved, that the Pelasgi derived their letters from the Phenicians, and that these Pelasgi were of Phenician original [a]. They were certainly the most ancient inhabitants of Greece of whom we have any account. The Phenician Pelasgi settled colonies in several islands of the Ægean sea, as Samothrace, Lemnos, Imbrus, and Scyros. They also spread themselves, not only on the maritime, but in the inland parts of Greece, in Attica, Thessaly, all the old Hellas, Argolis, and all over the Peloponnese; and several colonies of them particularly from Lydia, Lemnos, Imbrus, Thessaly, and Arcadia, settled in different parts of Italy, and possessed themselves of the greatest part of that country, where of course they carried their language and letters.

SOLINUS POLYHISTOR relates, that the Greek colonies who settled in Italy were *Aborigines, Aurunci, Pelasgi, Arcades, Siculi*; and Pliny says [b], they were *Aborigines, Pelasgi, Arcades, Siculi, Aurunci, Rutuli, Osce, Volsci, and Ausones*. All these colonists wrote in the Pelasgian manner, from right to left, till the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, the fifth king of the Romans, who began to reign five hundred and sixty-five years before Christ; though the Samnites continued to write in the ancient manner so late as two hundred and thirty years before the Christian æra, as appears by their coins and inscriptions. The Pelasgi who settled in Etruria were called Etruscans; the monuments discovered in that country, as also in Umbria, and in the other parts of Italy settled by the early colonies of the Pelasgi, afford us the best information concerning the Pelasgian language and characters.

THE five tables discovered at Eugubium, a city of Umbria, in the year 1456, are of very high antiquity; and father Gori,

[a] Origin and Progress of Writing, chap. iv. p. 51, & seq.

[b] Hist. Nat. lib. iii. cap. 5.

with great strength of argument, labours to prove, that they were written two centuries before the Trojan war. However, they are certainly written in the Pelasgian language, and in characters similar to those found on several Etruscan monuments preserved by *Dempster, Gori, Passer*, and others [c].

THE alphabet which the *Pelasgi* first brought into Italy, and which has been called their original alphabet, was probably carried out of Phenicia before the Phenicians themselves had augmented the number of radical letters, of which it was originally composed. This alphabet consisted of *thirteen* letters according to Dr. Swinton; but, according to father Gori, who appears to have been better informed, the original alphabet consisted only of *twelve* letters. As these authors differ materially it may be proper to give both alphabets.

According to Dr. Swinton.

	A	A
	Э	E
V. 8. 8.	Ј	F
	В	H
	І	I
	С	K
	Ј	L
	М	M
	И	N
	1	P
	Q	R
	2	S
	†	T

According to Father Gori.

	A	A
	Э	E
	І	I
Ж. И. С	К	
	Ј	L
	М	M
	И	N
	1	P
	Q	R
	2	S
	†	T
8. Ј. V	V	

[c] Two other tables were found at the same time, written in Roman letters, but these do not relate to the present subject.

FATHER GORI tells us, that the *Hτa* was afterwards added; and he also shews that the double and aspirated letters Θ, Ξ, Φ and Χ, were admitted among the later Etruscans. The double letters were not originally members of the Pelasgian alphabet: though, as they appear on Etruscan monuments, we may conclude they existed before the time of Palamedes, who is said to have invented them about twenty years before the taking of Troy, or 1164 years before Christ.

FROM the above alphabets we discover, that the Pelasgi had too few original letters to express distinctly the several sounds of their language; they were therefore under the necessity of annexing several sounds to one and the same letter; but, as they improved their language, they as well as the Greeks, added other characters, significant of the sounds thereof.

THE letters Γ, Δ, Ζ, Η, Ο, Τ, or Ω, were not originally in the Pelasgian alphabet; neither are the letters Γ, Δ, Ζ, Ο, nor the Ω, or any of the double letters to be found on the Eugubian tables [*d*], nor on the stone in the Oscan language, some years since discovered at Abella [*e*], which is evidently of much later date than the Eugubian tables. It is true, that a character in form similar to the τ (thus $\bar{\tau}$) had then obtained a place in the Oscan alphabet, in which it had sometimes the power of the Æolic digamma, or the V consonant, and occasionally that of the O, if we may credit Gebelin.

THE B had not obtained its proper form when the Eugubian tables were written, nor doth it occur in the Sigean inscription. Its sound seems to have been conveyed by the γ, β, or the Æolic

[*d*] A letter like the Ionic theta Θ is found on these tables, but it has the power of the aspirate H.

[*e*] A city of Campania near Nola in Italy, and published at Rome in 1774, with notes by J. B. Paffier. See more concerning this inscription in Gebelin's *Monde Primitif*, vol. IV. p. 216, et seq.

digamma; but it afterwards obtained the sound of the augmented Π , its parent character [*f*].

THE Γ is the K diminished, and was formerly represented by the half of that character thus I , as appears on a bronze lately found in Calabria, which is supposed to have been made five hundred years before Christ [*g*]. I find that the Γ was frequently supplied by the K in ancient documents, particularly in the Sigeon inscription where $\Sigma\text{XV}\Sigma$ or ΣVKE is written for $\Sigma\gamma\mu$. This inscription is in the \AA Eolic dialect and was written in the five hundred and ninety-fourth year before Christ.

THE Δ is derived from the T , which supplied its place till the former character was admitted into the Greek alphabet, as appears by the Oscan inscription abovementioned, and by other ancient documents.

IN times of very remote antiquity the Greeks had not a sufficient number of letters for the notation of their language. A character somewhat like the Δ seems to have supplied the place of the Z . On a medal struck at Zancle (now Messina), about the 28th Olympiad, it is written ΔANKAE ; and the same character is observable on the shield of *Anaxidamus*, the son of *Zeuxidamus*, which is nearly of the same date, and is written thus $\Delta\text{ETK}\Sigma\text{IDAMO}$. The character like the Δ was sometimes converted into the P , for the ancient Greeks sometimes wrote $\text{PEYK}\Sigma\text{IDAMOS}$ and PANKAE . This shews the uncertainty of writing before the ancient Greeks had polished their language [*b*], although I find that the Σ and the Δ united some-

[*f*] Mr. Chishull supposes, that the π was the B diminished, whereas the latter is the π augmented.

[*g*] This Bronze is preserved in the Borgian Museum at Velletria, and was communicated to me by the learned *S. Borgia*, Sec. Congreg. de propaganda Fide &c.

[*b*] See D'Hancarville's *Recherches sur l'origine, l'esprit, et les progres des arts de la Grece*. Vol. II. plate XXI. London 1785, 4to.

times supplied the place of the Z, yet I conceive this letter to be only the Σ augmented; for in early times its sound was conveyed by ΣΣ, though some have deduced it from the Phenician Zain: but this character was not used by the Pelasgi. The zeta in its present form doth not appear in the *Marmor Sandwicense*, which was written at the end of the 101st Olympiad, or three hundred and forty-four years before Christ, nor in several of the ancient inscriptions preserved by Chishull, who says that its ancient form was thus Ξ [b].

THE Ξ , H or E long, sounded as an aspirate, is said to have been introduced into the Greek alphabet by *Simonides*; but it appears, by the Eugubian tables, and other ancient monuments, that it was admitted before his time. The literati have disputed whether the H should be admitted as a letter, or be esteemed only as a mere sign, or note of aspiration. Varro, and many who have followed him, consider it only as an aspirate. It is certainly of high antiquity, for we find it in the ancient Phenician and Hebrew alphabets. Plato in his *Cratylus* truly says, that the Athenians anciently wrote E and not H: his words are Οὐ γὰρ Η ἐχρήμεθα, ἀλλὰ Ε το παλαιόν; though it is certain that this character had different powers [i].

THE Pelasgian Υ or F, was undoubtedly derived from the Phenician *Vau*, and was at first supplied by the V, and when it was used as an aspirate, it was inverted thus \mathfrak{F} , I conceive it to be the parent of the Greek Φ, because it is found on the coins of the *Bastuli* who were Phenicians, on the Eugubian tables, and on the most ancient Etruscan monuments, long before the Greek Φ was used. These testimonies might induce Dr. Swinton to consider the Υ or F as one of the original characters of the primitive Etruscan alphabet; but father Gori does not allow

[b] See *Antiquitates Asiaticæ*, p. 50. 68. 98.

[i] See *Antiquitates Asiaticæ*, p. 20.

it to be such, and this letter was pronounced like the V, a palatal aspirate [k]. The use of it as a labial aspirate or Φ was of a later period, and the mode of pronouncing it with the lips and teeth, as now practised, is of a still later age.

THE Υ is derived from the Phenician *Vau*, founded as the vowel U. It was introduced to soften the harshness of the V consonant; and afterwards the Greeks rendered it by the diphthong *eu*. The O is said to have been included in the Υ, but although this last character might convey the sound, yet I find the former was introduced into the Phenician alphabet long before the Υ, used as a vowel, appeared in its present form. It is in both the Sigeian inscriptions, and in the old cup mentioned by Achæus in Athenæus, on which was inscribed ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟ. In this word the Υ is distinguished from it, and here the last O is pronounced like *eu*, as Athenæus and others assure us from the best authorities [l]: but notwithstanding this, the letter O doth not appear in the Eugubian tables, nor in the primary Pelasgian alphabet; and if it was not derived from the Phenician *vau*, when founded as a vowel, I am at a loss to account from what radix it is descended. In some of the old Phenician alphabets, its form is that of the U vowel; and when it was first admitted into the Etruscan alphabet, it was sometimes like the inverted Υ thus ⅄, but more generally like the inverted ⅄ thus ⅄; however it is certain, that the sound of the long O existed before the addition of the mark Ω to the Attic alphabet, which before was composed of two omikrons thus OO.

THE different powers of Homer's O are proved by Dr. Taylor to be three; namely, O, Ω, and *eu* [m], though I much

[k] See Chishull's *Antiquitates Asiaticæ*, p. 17. n. 31. and p. 19.

[l] Jackson's *Chronological Antiq.* vol. III. p. 166 et seq.

[m] See Dr. Taylor's *Elements of Civil Law*, p. 553, 554, and 555, and Chishull *ut supra*.

doubt whether these three different characters existed in the Greek alphabet so early as the days of Homer, because Pronopides his master, and also Orpheus and Thymætes of Lacedæmon, who were nearly his contemporaries, used the Pelasgian characters [n].

THE Pelasgian Δ when guttural or hard had the power of K, when soft, that of the Σ . We find that this character, like the Roman C, with a reversed aspect, had the power of Σ near one thousand years before the Christian æra [o], and perhaps this ancient Pelasgian character was the parent of the more modern Σ of the Greeks, although the early colonists who settled in Italy wrote the \mathcal{Z} as in the alphabet above given, which was continued by the Romans, and is still in use with a reversed aspect.

I SHALL now speak of the aspirated and double letters, namely Θ , Ξ , Φ , χ , and Ψ , which appear on the later Pelasgian and Etruscan monuments. The Θ is the T aspirated, the Ξ and the χ are said to have been added by *Palamedes*. They are found on some very ancient coins, and in ancient inscriptions. The former of these letters was supplied by the junction of the K with the Σ , and the latter is the Phenician *GH*, which the Etruscans softened into *CH*, as will hereafter appear.

PERHAPS the K of the Eugubian inscriptions may be reckoned among the double letters, as its figure is evidently composed of two distinct parts thus \mathfrak{K} , which seems to have been originally two distinct elements. The one is the *fota*, and the other the Æolic gamma the parent of the Roman C, and was probably pronounced *CH*, like the C of the modern Italians. We find

[n] Recherches sur l'Origine &c. des Arts de la Grece, par Mr. D'Hancarville, vol. II. p. 320.

[o] Origin and Progress of Writing, pl. II. p. 66. D'Hancarville ut supra, p. 202. 206. 242. 247. n. 100.

this character signifying *CH*, in the inscription on the stone in the Ocean language abovementioned.

THE derivative letters were introduced into the Pelasgian and Greek alphabets at different periods of time. As those people polished their language, they added new letters or marks for the better and more harmonious conveying the sounds thereof. Several of them must have been introduced long before the practice of writing from left to right was generally adopted, because they are found on many Phenician and Pelasgian coins and inscriptions which are written from the right hand, from whence they have been inserted into the alphabets of those nations, published by several diplomatic writers [*p*]. The Athenians wrote from the right hand, near three centuries and a half after the building of Rome. The descendents of the ancient Pelasgi, and particularly the Samnites, continued to write in this manner till the sixth century after the building of Rome, or till about two hundred and thirty years before Christ, and the Osci still later [*q*], although the Ionians had practised the present mode of writing as early as the third century after the building of Rome.

It has been already observed, that the Eugubian tables have not the letters Γ , Δ , Z , O , Υ , or Ω , nor the letters Θ , Ξ , Φ , X , or Ψ ; whence we may conclude, that they were unknown to the Umbrians when these tables were written.

THE famous Amyclean inscription, which is said to have been written one hundred and sixty years before the siege of Troy, and one thousand three hundred and forty-four before the Christian æra, hath not the Ω , but hath two *OO* to supply the place of that character, though another inscription of about eight hundred years before Christ hath the Ω .

[*p*] See *Nouveau traité de Diplomatique*, vol. I. plate VII. p. 654. and the *Origin and Progress of Writing*, p. 64.

[*q*] See *Monsieur Gebelin*, vol. VI. *ut supra*.

THE Ξ is not in that inscription. It is supplied by the K and the Σ , as ΕΚΑΛΙΠΑΚΣΑ for Ἐκαλιπαζα, which agrees with the orthography on the shield of Anaxidamus abovementioned, but in the Borgian inscription the Ξ is represented thus †.

THE X is not found in the Amyclean and some other very ancient inscriptions; the K is substituted for it, as ΚΑΛΙΜΑΚΟΣ for Καλιμάχος, though in the Borgian inscription and on some Etruscan coins this character is represented thus ‡.

THE Ψ doth not appear in the inscription, but is supplied by the Π and the Σ . If the Amyclean inscription is genuine, as several authors have with great strength of argument endeavoured to prove [r], it shews that these letters were not known, or at least had not found admittance into the Greek alphabet used in Laconia about a century and a half before the Trojan war.

THE letters H, Φ , and X, are found on three different inscriptions written about eight hundred years before Christ, and published by the Abbé Fourmont. The same characters appear on the celebrated Sigeian inscription, which was written five hundred and ninety-four years before the Christian æra.

FROM what has been said, I conclude that the original alphabet of the Pelasgians or Etruscans, consisted of twelve radical letters, from whence thirteen more characters or letters were derived.

[r] Mem. de l'Acad. des Insc. tom. xxxix. edit. in 12°. p. 129. Gebelin's *Mondé Primitif*, tom. iii. p. . . *Nouveau traité de Dipl.* tom. i. p. 615 to 626, and *Universal Hist.* vol. XVI. p. 46. note D, edit. 8vo. and particularly Monsieur D'Hancarville's learned work above quoted.

Radicals.

Derivatives.

Α	A	
Ε	E lengthened or aspirated	H
Ι	I	
Κ	K diminished	Γ
Λ	Λ	
Μ	M	
Ν	N	
Π	Π augmented	Β
Ρ	P	
Σ	Σ augmented	Ζ
Τ	T augmented	Δ
Υ	{ γ or F of the Pelasgi and others. U vowel ου or τ, and the O short. O O. long or Ω. Ω.	

Double and aspirated Letters.

τ	T aspirated	Θ
κ	Κ Σ joined	Ξ
ϰ	Κ Π aspirated	Φ
ψ	Gh softened into Ch	Χ
Η and Σ anciently supplied the Ψ.		

It has been shewn that the Pelasgi were of Phenician original, and therefore it is easy to conceive, that their languages were nearly allied to each other. The proximity of the earliest Greek to the oriental languages was well known to Isaac Casaubon, Erpenius, Gebelin, and others. Monsieur Bourguet and father Gori shew, that the language of the Pelasgi differed but little from the Greek: but although their opinions

opinions have been controverted, it must be allowed that the Greeks improved the language of their Pelasgian ancestors to so great a degree, that the elegant orations spoken by Isocrates and Demosthenes, were as different from the harsh dialects of the ancient Pelasgi, as was the English of Addison and Pope, from that of Robert of Gloucester, Occleve, or Chaucer. It is therefore easy to conceive, that the rude language of the ancient Pelasgi was very different from the later or Hellenical Greek.

THE descendents of the Pelasgi who settled in Etruria, Umbria, and in other parts of Italy, were celebrated for their knowledge in the arts and sciences. Both Greeks and Romans sent their youth into Etruria for education. A very interesting account of the learning and writings of the Etruscans is given in the ancient part of the Universal History, vol. XVI. from p. 57 to 62. The best writers agree, that the arts and sciences were very conspicuous in Rome before its citizens had any intercourse with the Greeks, and in these they must have imitated the Etruscans, of whose skill and ingenuity we have so many proofs.

THEIR paintings are admirable, and the colours on their vases, which have been executed above two thousand years, are as perfect as if they had been the works of modern times.

THE Pelasgian or Etruscan language was spoken in the Augustan age, as we learn from Aulus Gellius, and Strabo [s]. It was also patronized by the Emperor Claudius, as appears by a speech of that emperor recorded by Tacitus [t] in which he says, "*Retulit ad senatum super collegio Haruspicum, ne vetustissima Italiae disciplina per desidiā exfolescere, quam tamen primores Etruriæ adhuc retinebant et in familias propagabant.*" It seems extraordinary, that none of the MSS. in the Pelasgian or

[s] Aulus Gellius Noct. Atticæ, li. xi. c. 7. Strabo, l. viii.

[t] Ann. xi. 15.

Etruscan language should have been transmitted to us; for it appears by a passage in Ammianus Marcellinus [u] that the Etruscan records were preserved in the college of Augurs till the middle of the fourth century after Christ; and that the Augurs assisted the emperor Julian with the sacred discipline of their mysteries, by bringing him their books, which were written in the Etruscan letters and language. This was probably done when Julian reformed the Pagan worship.

AFTER the reign of this prince we hear no more of the Etruscan records or MSS. for Christianity being re-established in the reign of his successor, and this Pagan learning being offensive to the Christians, they have, and I fear with too much reason, been charged with having destroyed those monuments of ancient learning. This was more the effect of zeal than of prudence; for the Etruscan records could not have contained any thing that would have invalidated the truths of Christianity. However, from this period, the Pelasgian or Etruscan language was intirely disused, and in a short time after was not understood by the inhabitants of Italy.

THE ancient Pelasgian language has been disused for near thirteen centuries; but the study of it has of late become fashionable among the literati, and it has been cultivated with great success by M. Bouguet, the prelate Urbinas, father Gori, Maffei, John Christopher Amadutius, John Baptist Passer, and other illustrious men, as well in Italy, France, and Germany, as by our countryman the late Dr. Swinton, from whose labours it may be collected, that the Pelasgian language and characters are preserved in the monuments which have been called Etruscan, and that every thing relative to the religious, civil, military, and naval establishments among the Romans, was derived from the Etruscans, and the other descendents of the ancient Pelasgi, who settled in different parts of Italy.

[u] Lib. xx. c. 5.

THE Ionians were the first Greeks who turned their letters towards the right hand, and wrote from left to right. Homer was a native of Ionia, where the Pelasgic alphabet was first improved [x]; but whether all, or how many of the derivative letters, were introduced into the Greek alphabet in the days of Homer cannot now be ascertained. The Athenians adopted the Ionian letters in the 94th Olympiad or about four hundred and four years before Christ. The Arcadian letters are immediately derived from the improved Ionian alphabet, and the Latin or Roman from the Arcadian.

THE alphabets derived from the Roman are the Lombardic, the Visigothic, the Saxon, the Gallican, the Franco-Gallic or Merovingian, the Teutonic or German, the Carolinian, the Capetian, and the modern Gothic, as I have shewn in the fourth and fifth chapters on the Origin and Progress of Writing.

[x] He is said to have written about one hundred and sixty-eight years after the destruction of Troy, or as some will have it, about 907 before Christ.



XXXVIII. *Observations on a Seal of Thomas, Suffragan
Bishop of Philadelphia. By the Reverend Mr. Pegge,
In a Letter to Gustavus Brander, Esq.*

Read April 23, 1784.

SIR,

THE matrix of this oval seal was in the possession of the late Mrs. Mary Burnell of Winkburne, in the county of Nottingham, and is now the property of my kinsman Peter Pegge, Esq. lord of that manor. It is an episcopal seal, and the drawing by Hayman Rooke, Esq. with which I here present you, exhibits a bishop standing in a tabernacle with a heart in his right hand, and a cross of this form π in his left. The
coat

coat underneath the figure is, a fesse charged with three pellets between three tons, and the inscription runs, S. DŌINI. TOME. EPISC. PHILADELPHIENSIS.

It was doubtless the seal of some bishop *in partibus infidelium*, and consequently, howsoever Mrs Burnell, or the family, came by it, had no particular connection with the parish or liberty of Winkburne, though Winkburne being a donative, she, as I have heard, pretended sometimes to grant licences under it.

THE occasion of this institution of bishops with foreign titles, or *in partibus*, as they were called, and their employment here in England, are well explained by Dr. Thomas Brett in a letter to Mr. Francis Drake, who observes, they were procured by the greater monasteries exempt from ordinary episcopal jurisdiction, for the purpose of consecrating altars, chalices, vestments, &c. and that they were usually some of their own monks; that they had properly no jurisdiction here; that the regular archbishops, and bishops who had large dioceses, or were employed in secular affairs, as lord chancellors, or lord treasurers, &c. as often they were, made these titular bishops their suffragans; and lastly, that they were all Englishmen, and treated with contempt by the diocesans [a].

As to this Thomas, bishop of Philadelphia, he was prebendary of *Stow in Lindsey* in the church of Lincoln, installed April 12, 1544, and was suffragan to John Longland bishop of that see, who was consecrated A. D. 1521, and died A. D. 1547. Dr. Browne Willis, calls him *Thomas Philadelph* [b], as if *Philadelph* was his surname, whereas it was the name of his title as a bishop, and not his gentilitial appellation. It

[a] Drake, Eboracum, p. 539. See also Dr. Harris' Hist. of Kent, p. 491. Strype, Mem. of archbishop Cranmer, appendix N^o XXII.

[b] Willis, Surv. of Cathedr. II. p. 242.

appears, however, from this passage, that as Thomas was installed by his title, he had been consecrated some time before; and upon enquiring at Lincoln, an entry, I find, is made in Bishop Longland's register, importing, that Thomas Swillington was appointed suffragan by the title of Philadelphia, July 15, 1533, and that the exercise of his episcopal function was to be confined to the two archdeaconries of Lincoln and Leicester. In a petition to the pope for a suffragan, May 13, 1529, bishop Longland recommended, ' Thomam Halam priorem domus sive prioratus de Newstede juxta Stanfordinam ordinis Sancti Augustini Lincoln. diocesi. moribus et sacrarum literarum scientia præditi ac pollentem [c]', and Halam was probably consecrated soon after that date; and July 21, 1534, he, with three others of his house, subscribed to the king's supremacy [d], which shews that he was a favourer of the Reformation, and that the bishop of Lincoln had two suffragans at once, which seems to have been necessary, considering the enormous extent of his diocese at that period. Certainly, no prelate of the time stood more in need of assistants than Longland did on that very account, especially after cardinal Wolsey, his great patron, had made him the king's confessor [e], a situation which would require him to attend almost constantly at court, whether his highness was at home or abroad. He accordingly states in his prayer to the pope above-mentioned, ' quoniam, pater sanctissime, nostra diocesis longe lateque diffunditur, adeo quidem ut cum per ejus amplitudinem, tum per varias insuper causas rationabiles justas et graves sæpissime nobis emergentes, sic interesse non possumus

[c] Reg. at Lincoln, A. 1529.

[d] Willis, *Mitr. Abbeyes*, II. p. 120.

[e] Strype, *Memoirs*, I. p. 124.

‘et officio fungi, ut onera singula huic ecclesiae nostrae consueta et debita sufficienter et plene perimplere valeamus, &c. nos, &c.’ I make no further observations on this instrument at present; but in regard to Halam, I wish to remark, that he appears to have been dead, or to have resigned his priory before 1535, since one John Blaket was the last prior and surrendered the house of Newstede that year [f], but I incline to think he was dead, because Swillington, the other suffragan, was living, and yet the noted Matthew Makerell abbat of Barlings was made a suffragan A. D. 1535, by the title of Chalcedon [g], as if succeeding to the said Halam, and was to be employed in the archdeaconries of Lincoln and Stow. I am fully convinced, bishop Longland had more than one suffragan at a time, for Robert Kynge, abbat of Tame, co. Oxon. was suffragan to him, by the foreign title of *Reonen*, along with Swillington, and surrendered his monasteries (for it seems he held more than one) 16th and 17th November 31, Henry VIII [h]. Bishop Burnet writes upon the passage here cited, in his margin, ‘what this see was I cannot conjecture;’ but it was undoubtedly a see in the province of Athens, subject to that metropolitan [i]. Bishop Godwin says, Robert was installed abbat of Osney, A. D. 1541, and whilst he sat there was consecrated a bishop *in partibus*, but he was consecrated before,

[f] Willis, Mitr. Abb. II. p. 17. of Append.

[g] Bishop Longland's Reg. at Lincoln.

[h] Bishop Burnet, Hist. of Ref. I. p. 148 of the Collections.

[i] Godwin de Præsul. p. 545. Wood, Athen. Oxon, I. col. 684. Strype, Life of archbishop Cranmer, p. 36. The entry in bishop Longland's Register concerning him is, ‘Abbas fuit de Thame, Episcopus *Reonenfis in partibus Infidelium* et Episcopo Lincolnienfi suffraganeus,’ Dr. Richardson ad Godwin, l. c. I wonder we find not this see in Car. a Sto Paulo.

as appears from the passage above cited from bishop Burnet, and whilst he was only abbat of Tame [k], and probably in 1537, and in the execution of Dr. Makerell [l], as a friend to the Reformation, he was constituted the first bishop of Oxford, A. 1542, and died A. 1547.

I RETURN now to the seal, and the prelate it belonged to. The date 1533, accords very well with the age and form of the letters in the inscription, which are modern. The effigies *in pontificalibus* is that of *Swillington* himself, as is extremely natural; since being, as I conceive, a secular ecclesiastic, he was not attached to any particular saint, who commonly occupies that place, but was only *coepiscopus*, or coadjutor to bishop Longland, for the archdeaconries of Lincoln and Leicester. He wears his mitre with the slit in front, according to the observation of Mr Anstis concerning the wearing of that ornament by the mitred abbots, or inferior prelates [m].

THE ensign in his left hand is something singular: I have called it a *cross*, from its situation, but it cannot be said to be decussated; it has not the appearance of a crossier [n]. It seems to be the letter *K*, and this letter having the power of *C*, it must mean *Cristus*; thus Skelton, a contemporary writer, has *cristus* p. 285, the MS. history of Sir Degari, ver. 194, gives *crystyn* for *christened*; the MS. legend of St. Erasmus, ver. 1. has *crystyn* for *Christian*, and ver. 32, *crystys* for *Christ's*. The like mode occurs six or seven times in monuments of the

[k] See also Ant. a Wood, l. c.

[l] This Dr. Makerell, opposing the King's measures, and being concerned in the insurrection in Lincolnshire, was hanged at Tyburn, March 29, 1537.

[m] Anstis in Dr. Fiddes's collections to Life of Wolfey, p. 91.

[n] That the Suffragans were allowed to have the *baculus pastoralis* appears from Wharton, A. S. vol. I. p. 64.

same age in Weever [o]: this, therefore, was the corrupt orthography of the age, *K* might well be put for *C*, id est, *Cb* or *X*. One cannot expect that an ecclesiastic of the beginning of the 16th century should know much of the Greek language, or of the truth of things. The tons in the arms at the bottom of the seal allude plainly to the last syllable of the name, according to the genius of the heralds of those days, but the coat is totally different from that of *Swillington* of Nottinghamshire, viz. Arg. a Chevron, Az. with a label of three points ermine [*p*]. My friend, John Charles Brooke, Esq. Somerset informs me, it does not appear in the office, and perhaps was a new grant to our suffragan on his creation, who having no issue, it could not descend.

It is but slight ground, you will think; however, it is from the tons in the arms that I appropriate our seal to *Swillington*, rather than *Halam*. *Swillington* died A. 1546, for his successor, Richard Stoke, was installed prebendary of *Stow in Lindsey* in September that year.

It may be doubted whether this may not be the only matrix of a seal of a bishop *in partibus* now remaining? If so, it may be deemed a curiosity of no small regard; and it is in this view, Sir, that I have submitted it, with the foregoing observations upon it, to your candour and correction. I have the honour, dear Sir, of being,

Your affectionate

and most obedient servant,

SAMUEL PEGGE.

[o] See also Ames, *Typogr. Antiq.* p. 466.

[p] Thorton, *Antiq. of Nott.* p. 4. alibi.

P. S.

Bishop Longland's suffragans stand thus :

- { Thomas Halam, made 1529, died 1535,
and
Thomas Swillington, made 1433, ob. 1546.
- { Thomas Swillington,
and
Dr. Matthew Makerell, made 1535 on death of Halam, hanged
1537.
- { Thomas Swillington,
and
Robert Kynge, made 1537 on execution of Makerell, first
Bishop of Oxford 1542.

XXXIX. *Observations on the Remains of the Amphitheatre of Flavius Vespasian at Rome, as it was in the year 1777. By Mr. Thomas Hardwick, F.A.S. In a Letter to Mr. Bridgen, Treasurer to the Society of Antiquaries.*

Read January 20, 1785.

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE the honour of sending you for the inspection of the Society a model of the remains of the amphitheatre of Flavius Vespasian at Rome, which from the minuteness and accuracy with which it is executed, I flatter myself will deserve their attention. The purposes to which a Roman amphitheatre was appropriated are so generally known, and particularly to the Society of Antiquaries, that I shall here beg leave only to offer a few remarks, which occurred to me on the spot, and which you will do me the honour of communicating to the Society.

As the Colosseum is one of the noblest remains of Roman grandeur, and as authors had differed in opinion on some essential points, I determined during my residence in Rome to get an exact and perfect model of it constructed from my own actual measurement and inspection. For this purpose I employed one *Giovanni Altieri*, an ingenious Neapolitan (the same who I was afterwards informed had executed a model of the Sibyls temple at Tivoli, now in the possession of the Society); and in

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order

order to have it more accurate than any I had seen, I obtained permission to remove so much of the ground which in a long series of years had accumulated from various causes against the building, as might furnish me with the means of discovering those parts of the edifice which had for centuries lain concealed.

At the depth of fourteen feet (which is about the difference between the level of antient and modern Rome, as may be seen by measuring the height of the excavated area round the Trajan column), I found the base of the Doric column very entire, having measured which, I gave directions to the workmen to clear away the ground as far as possible in front of the building, without endangering the present road, which leads close by the Colosseum to St. John Lateran, and which I was partly obliged to undermine. I found that the base of the column rested immediately on the pavement without any pedestal or sub-plinth. Beyond this was a landing, or walk, three feet nine inches and half wide, six inches below which was a step one foot, three inches and half, raised nine inches above a level pavement, which consisted of large stones a foot thick, and laid without cement. Having dug to the distance of thirty-four feet in a direct line from the face of the column, and finding the pavement continue, I desisted, as I had reason to suppose there was no other step than that abovementioned. The great advantage of so convenient and easy an access for all ages, sexes, and conditions of people who there assembled, must be very apparent. Monsieur Desgodetz, in his *Edifices antiques de Rome*, tells us that where he happened to dig the building was in so ruinous a state that he could only venture at conjectures as to its original form, and these conjectures the above description proves to be erroneous.

It is observable that the four center arches are considerably wider than the others: and I remarked that the entablature of the lower order, under the arch which communicated with the part of the theatre allotted for the emperor, was broken away, in a manner which seemed to indicate there had been originally a communication from a part of the palace, which stood near it for the emperor and his suite to enter the amphitheatre without interfering with the public entrance through the lower arches, of which there were eighty, each of them numbered on the key-stone, probably to regulate the admission or situation of the several orders of people.

On the side of the pier of one of the arches of the middle or Ionic order, I discovered very plainly the vestiges of a sort of ballustrade or parapet, two feet eleven inches high, with a cornice and base, the profile of which might be easily traced, and with which it is highly probable the openings of both the upper order of arches were defended to prevent any accident from the multitudes of people assembled in the open corridors, which surrounded the theatre for the purpose of communicating with the several gradations of seats. It is rather extraordinary that neither *Desgodetz*, nor *Serlio*, the former of which authors has the merit of being in general extremely accurate, should have taken any notice of this circumstance. It seems likewise to have escaped the *Cavalier Fontana*.

THE inaccuracy with which all the detail of this building is executed renders it difficult to discover the proportions originally intended to be given by the architect to the smaller parts with any certainty, but the larger divisions may be ascertained with a tolerable degree of exactness.

THE plan of the whole structure is oval; a form of all others the best adapted for the purposes for which the building was de-

signed. The transverse diameter including the outer walls being six hundred and twenty English feet, and the conjugate five hundred and thirteen, the breadth of the outer corridore is sixteen feet four inches, and that of the inner fourteen feet five inches. The columns are all of the same diameter, viz. two feet nine inches three-fourths, and the breadth of the pilaster of the uppermost order is the same with the diameter of the columns. The height of the first or Doric order including its column and entablature is thirty-four feet four inches and half; the Ionic and Corinthian orders including their pedestal are both of the same height, viz. thirty-eight feet eleven inches, and that of the pillastrade which crowns the whole forty-seven feet eight inches, on the top of which is a parapet four feet five inches high, making the height of the whole building one hundred sixty-four feet three inches and half.

THE channels or grooves observable in the entablature of the pillastrade were evidently intended for the purpose of fixing poles, to which strong cables being fastened an awning was distended over the spectators, to shelter them from the scorching rays of the sun. This is fully and clearly explained by the Cavalier *Pontana*, in his learned and ingenious treatise on this building.

THE materials with which the Colosseum is constructed are principally stone and brick. The floors of the corridors are paved with a small kind of brick, and cased with a strong incrustation of stucco as were all the internal walls, on some of which, particularly in and near the emperor's seat, and in the soffite of the arches opposite to it, are still to be seen the remains of ornaments of plaister, and in some places lined with marble. All the stone-work was originally bound together by cramps either of bronze or iron, without any cement, which we find was the universal method of the antients in the construction of their
stone

stone edifices, the inner surface of the stones being worked perfectly even, so as to connect each other with scarcely a visible joint; and to such perfection had they arrived in this method of executing their buildings, that the shaft of Trajan's column, which I minutely examined, now stands firm and entire, though there be not a single cramp remaining, all of them having been wrenched out by the Goths. I remarked that the bricks used in the building of the amphitheatre, were of different forms and sizes, and were either oblong, square, or triangular, according to their different uses.

I remain, with great regard,

Dear Sir,

your faithful humble servant,

THOMAS HARDWICK.

XL. *Observations on an antient Sword. In a Letter from Lieutenant General Melvill, F.A.S. to the Rev. Mr. James Douglas, F.A.S.*

Read January 27, 1785.

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE as yet no doubt but the old iron blade which you was so kind as to shew to me this morning is that of a Roman sword, and most probably a legionary *gladius*; for although its length is full nineteen inches, from where the cross piece of the handle was fixed on it to the point, which is rather longer than Roman *gladii* appear to have been, from the greater part of *bassi rilievi*, yet that is by no means any conclusive proof against its being genuine, because it is highly probable that the blades of these swords were at different times made with a little variation in the length, and also in the breadth and shape; as indeed is evident from the figures of many Roman swords on antient sculptures &c. But the arguments which chiefly induce me to conclude that yours is Roman, although perhaps of the lower empire, are, 1st, that it is of iron, of which when hardened, or what is now called steel, I believe the Roman blades were generally, if not constantly made. 2. That if I remember rightly the blade of the sword preserved in the Museum of the king of Naples at Portici, which was found in a Roman sepulchre, and is held to be really antient, nearly corresponds with yours, in make and length. 3. Yours has been, when entire, of a very fit shape, as well for stabbing as for cutting,
with

with a double edge, which was the great property of the Roman *Gladius*; and if it was certainly found in the same place with coins and other remains of the Romans, it will be a very corroborating circumstance. Of this, in as far as you know, I shall be glad to be informed, with your leisure; and in the mean time I am, with great regard,

Dear Sir,

your most obedient and most humble servant,

ROBERT MELVILL.

P. S. Although the handles of the Roman *gladii* are, I believe, sometimes of brass, or copper, yet I have reason to think that they were often of a lighter substance; so that if you shall find difficulty in procuring a brass handle from the gentleman you named, I should imagine that you need have no scruple in getting one of ivory, ebony, horn or hard wood, fitted to it, and I shall be ready to inform you of the maker whom I employed on a like occasion.

XLI. *A Letter from the Rev. Mr. Douglas to Lieutenant General Melvill, F. A. S. on the Sword mentioned in the preceding Article.*

Read January 27, 1785.

DEAR SIR,

HAVING been for these several days too much pressed for time to return you an answer to your obliging favour on the Roman sword in my possession, I beg you will permit business to apologize for the delay.

I HAVE enclosed to you a letter from Mr. Mutlow of the College Precincts, Gloucester, in answer to some queries which I directed to him on the subject of the relic in question; but as I have since received further information on the discovery of Roman remains dug out of the spot from whence the sword was taken, I here subjoin a few remarks and a concise account of them.

AT a spot of ground called Kings-holm, near Gloucester, some time in the course of last year 1784, a leaden coffin was found, which contained a skeleton; the coffin was in the form of the drawing in Mr. Mutlow's letter; near it were found two fibulæ some coins, a blade of a sword, a ring with three brass braces, connected with a girdle, which served to secure the

I

sword

sword to the side, a brass pendant fixed to a hook of the same metal, into which leather appears to have been inserted, and which seems to have been appropriated for a private stamp: and a small sepulchral vessel, which contained perfumes or some kind of liquor which the Romans are known to have deposited with their dead.

It is not unusual for the Romans to bury in leaden coffins. See accounts of this nature in *Roma Subterranea*; and leaden urns which have contained their ashes. In confirmation of which I have now in my possession a manuscript, which I received of Mr. White of Newgate-street, of a late earl of Winchelsea, which contains a catalogue of the antiquities which were sold at Mr. Kemp's sale at the Phoenix Tavern, the lower end of the Haymarket, from the twenty-third to the twenty-seventh of March 1721, wherein is mentioned lot 244 an urn of lead containing ashes, and which sold for ten shillings and six-pence. It is further to be observed, that at Bath, within these few years, stone coffins have been dug up, with bones, lachrymal vessels, and Roman *denarii* in them. At Kings-holm also within these few years stone coffins were found, nor are we to conclude because tradition has handed down to us an account of the palace of a Mercian king being situated near this spot, that these are Saxon remains. When relics bear such evident marks of their owners we are not permitted to flatter our speculation, by ascribing to one nation what common sense prefixes to another.

THOSE who have had opportunities of viewing the many specimens of *Sarcophagi* that have been discovered in Italy must know that the Romans buried and burned their dead at the same æra; and that the former custom was not adopted from

the introduction of Christianity only, but was equally prevalent in their Pagan institutes.

I am, with much esteem, dear Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

JAMES DOUGLAS.

P. S. Had my leisure permitted, I would have sent you a drawing of these relics. It is remarkable, that the blade seems to have been broken off intentionally from the handle; the old fracture is obvious, and where the wrench was made, the edge takes a bend. I cannot at this instant charge my memory with it; but I have read in some classic, that the sword was not deposited entire, but the blade broken off, in token that no violation or injury was offered to the *manes*. At least the passage conveys this meaning.

XLII. *Account of some Antiquities found in Gloucestershire. By the Rev. Mr. Mutlow; in a Letter to the Rev. Mr. Douglas, F. A. S.*

Read January 27, 1785.

SIR,

I DULY received your favour of the 23d of September, and have endeavoured all in my power to get satisfactory answers to your queries. In the first place I have to inform you that the coffin was found within about fifty yards of the Roman Way called Ermin-street, which went from St. David's in Wales to Southampton, and about eighteen miles from Gloucester crosses the Roman Foss-way: but notwithstanding this circumstance, I am of opinion that the coffin in question did not belong to a Roman, but to a Saxon, in support of which I have to say that in the heptarchy Gloucestershire being a part of the Mercian kingdom, the Roman Way went by a palace of the kings of Mercia, which was situate in a field adjoining to that in which the coffin, &c. was found (the foundation of which I have seen) and to this day is called the Kingsholm, and a few years since there were two stone coffins (there generally supposed Roman) found close to the Ermin street, one of which was about six feet and a half in length, and nearly in the form of a cistern, and I believe upon consideration, you will be of opinion that the Romans never interred their dead in lead.

C c c 2

The

The sword sent was not found in the coffin, but five or six feet distant, exactly as it was sent. There was a compleat skeleton in the coffin, and the bones but little decayed, most of which now lie scattered among many others found near the same spot. The man says, that he is certain there was a coffin of wood in which the leaden one was inclosed, as the nails, supposed to have fastened it, lay in a regular position round the place where the leaden one was found *; though there was not the least vestige of the wood remaining. There was nothing in the coffin besides the skeleton. There have been a great number of coins, both Roman and Saxon, found in the field at different times, chiefly of Tiberius, Nero, and Claudius, and a few of several of the early emperors. There was found more than half a peck of Saxon coins in a heap between some stones: I have sent all that I could procure, as the man by having many visitors and customers is become rather pert and mercenary, so that it is difficult to procure them. I have also sent you a few other things which have been dug up. Several urns have been discovered, but nothing was found in them except dust. I wish it had been in my power to have procured any thing fit to have been placed in your cabinet, or to have given any information or hint that would have been of service in your intended publication: but if you think any antiquities in this neighbourhood worth your inspection, it would make me exceeding happy to have the honour of your company, to attend you, and to partake of such homely accommodation as my house affords; but if that should be inconvenient, every further enquiry on my part shall be made to give you satisfaction; any further commission you may be pleased to honour me with, will greatly add to the obligation already conferred upon,

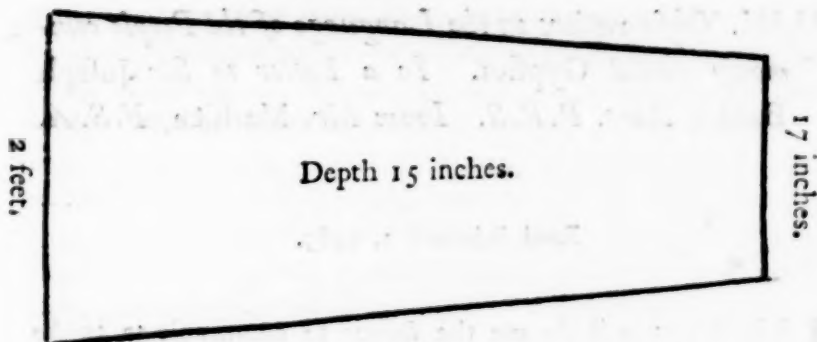
Sir, your obliged humble servant,

THO. MUTLOW.

* One of the nails was sent in the parcel.

The form and dimensions of the coffin are nearly as under.

6 feet and 1 inch.



XLIII. *Observations on the Language of the People commonly called Gypsies. In a Letter to Sir Joseph Banks, Bart. P.R.S. From Mr. Marsden, F.S.A.*

Read February 3, 1785.

I BEG you will do me the favour to communicate to the learned Society of Antiquaries the inclosed paper, on a subject to the investigation of which you have so essentially contributed.

I am, Sir,

your much obliged and most obedient servant,

WILLIAM MARSDEN.

IT has long been surmised that the vagrant tribes of people called in this country *Gypsies*, and on parts of the continent of Europe, *Cingari*, *Zingari*, and *Cbingali*, were of Eastern origin. The former name has been supposed a corruption of *Egyptian*, and some learned persons have judged it not improbable that their language might be traced to the *Coptic*.

In the course of researches which I have had occasion to pursue on the subject of language, I observed that Ludolfus, in his history of Ethiopia, makes mention, incidentally, of the *Cingari* vel *Errones Nubiani*, and gives a specimen of words which

which he had collected from these people in his travels, with a view of determining their origin. He discusses the opinions of various writers concerning them, but forms no precise one of his own, concluding his observations with these words: *Eadem vocabula, cum maximam partem reperiunt apud Vulcanium, à centum serè annis tradita, non fictitia existimo, ut Megiserus putat, nec corrupta ex aliis linguis, neque Ægyptiaca sive Coptica.*

I was surprised to find many of the words contained in the specimen familiar to my eye, and pointed out to Sir Joseph Banks (in the latter end of the year 1783) their evident correspondence with terms in the *Hindustanic*, or as it is vulgarly termed in India, the *Moors* language. This similitude appeared to me so extraordinary, that I was inclined to suspect an error in the publication, which might have arisen from a confusion of obscure vocabularies in the author's possession. The circumstance, however, determined me to pay further attention to the subject, and to examine, in the first place, whether the language spoken by the Gypsy tribes in England, and by those in the remoter parts of the continent of Europe, were one and the same; and then to ascertain whether this actually bore the affinity, which so forcibly struck me in Ludolfus, to any of the languages on the continent of India.

THROUGH the obliging assistance of Sir Joseph Banks, who has spared no pains to promote this investigation, I procured an opportunity of obtaining a list of words from our Gypsies, which I can depend upon as genuine, and tolerably accurate in respect to the pronunciation, from their being corroborated by words also taken down, separately, by Sir Joseph, and by Dr. Blagden. Mr. Matra did me the favour to transmit for me a list of words to *Turkey*, and from his ingenious friend Mr. B. Pisani, I received a complete and satisfactory translation of them,

them, together with some information respecting the manners of the Chinghiarés, in the Turkish dominions, which however does not come within the design of this paper, as I mean to confine myself in the present communication, simply to the question of the similarity of language, which, if established, I should esteem a matter of no little curiosity; presuming it to be perfectly new to the world. Of this similarity the learned members of the Society will be enabled to form their judgment from the annexed paper, exhibiting a comparison of a few of the words procured from the different quarters before mentioned, with the Hindostanic terms, from the best published and parole authorities.

It may not be unworthy of remark, that the general appellation for these people in the eastern parts of Europe, is very nearly connected with that of the inhabitants of *Ceylon*, in the East-Indies, who are equally termed *Lingalese* and *Chingalese*; though at the same time it must be acknowledged that the language of this island has much less correspondence with that of the Gypsies, than many other of the Indian dialects. His grace the archbishop of York, with his usual discernment, suggested to me the probability that the *Zingari* here spoken of, may have derived their name, and perhaps their origin, from the people called *Langari* or *Langarians*, who are found in the northwest parts of the peninsula of Hindostan, and infest the coasts of *Guzerat* and *Sindy* with their piratical depredations. The maritime turn of this numerous race of people, with their roving and enterprising disposition, may warrant the idea of occasional emigrations in their boats, by the course of the Red Sea.

NOTWITHSTANDING that the resemblance to the Hindostanic is the predominant feature in the Gypsy dialect, yet there are words interspersed, which evidently coincide with other languages. Beside the *Mabratta* and *Bengalese*, which I have mark-

ed in the comparative specimen, it is not a little singular that the terms for the numerals *seven*, *eight*, and *nine*, are purely *Greek*, although the first five, and that for *ten*, are indisputably *Indian*. It is also a curious observation, that although the *Indian* term for *seven*, being *saath*, differs from the *Gypsies*, yet that for a *week*, or *seven* days, is the *Eftan* of the latter. One word only, among those which I have examined, bears a resemblance to the *Coptic*, which is *rom*, the same with *romi*, a *man*. In comparisons of this nature, a due allowance must be made, not only for the various modes of spelling adopted by different persons and different nations, but also for the dissimilar manner in which the same individual sound strikes the organs of the hearers; of which some pointed instances might be given.

SHOULD any be inclined to doubt (which I scarcely suppose possible) of the identity of the *Gypsies* or *Cingari*, and the *Hindustanic* languages, still it will be acknowledged as no uninteresting subject of speculation, that tribes wandering through the mountains of *Nubia*, or the plains of *Romania*, have been conversed for centuries in a dialect precisely similar to that spoken at this day by the obscure, despised, and wretched people in *England*, whose language has been considered as a fabricated gibberish and confounded with a cant in use amongst thieves and beggars, and whose persons have been (till within the period of a year) an object of the persecution, instead of the protection of our laws.

WILLIAM MARSDEN.

Comparisons of the Gypsy and Hindostanic languages.

	English Gypsies.	Turkish Gypsies or Chingharès.	Cingari vel Errones Nubiani.	Hindostanic.
One	Aick, yek	Yek		Aick, ek, yek
Two	Dooce	Duy		Do, doiv
Three	Trin	Trim		Ten
Four	Steu, flaur, shiar	Shiat		Chaur
Five	Pange	Panch		Paunch
Six	Shove	Shove		Châyce, chey
Seven	Hellau	Eftai		Saath, saut
Eight		Okid		Aath, aut
Nine	Henya	Enia		Noh, no
Ten	Delh	Delh		Dus, delh (Bengalee)
Man	Râye, gajo	Rom, manuth	Manuth	Manootho (Bengalee) Mannos (Maharatta)
Woman or Lady	Raunee, gajee	Romee		Remdee, raunee
Head	Bol-shuroo, flaro	Shero	Scheiro	Seer, firr
Eyes	Yack-au, yock	Yack	laka	Aukh, choke, ohhyo, (Bengalee)
Nose	Bol-nok	Nack	Nak	Nauk
Hair	Ballaui, bolau	Bal	Bal	Bail, bal
Teeth	Dan-au	Dan		Daunt, dont, (Bengalee)
Ear	Kanana		Cia	Kaun
Good	Quefio	Larchù		Acha
Day	Dewas, deeras, deerus,	Deeres		Deen, deewus, (Maharatta)
Night	Raunee	Raice		Raut, raat
White	Pauno	Parnee		Paandra, (Maharatta)
Black	Kaulo	Caglee		Kaula
Fire	Yaug	Yagg	Yag	Aug
Water	Paunce	Pagnee	Paul	Paunce
Dead	Mullo, moulay	Moolo		Moosh, maylay, (Maharatta)
Cow	Gouvinee		Curcumi	(Gance
Sheep	Baukro	Baiò	Bakro	Bhare
Hog	Baulo	Matcho		Mathee, mutchee
Fish	Matcho	Chirickio	Ker	Chereah
Bird	Chereko, chillakoo			Ghur
House	Kair			Chooree
Knife	Chooree		Chion	Chaund
Moona				Noone, (Bengalee)
Salt	Lone			Sonna
Gold	Soon-a-kai			Roopau
Silver	Koop			Dawa, (Bengalee)
God	Mc-devel	Devlaa		

XLIV. *Collections on the Zingara, or Gypsey Language; by Jacob Bryant, Esq. transmitted to O. Salusbury Brereton, Esq. in a Letter from the Rev. Dr. Douglas.*

Read April 7, 1785.

DEAR SIR,

HAVING been present at the meeting of the Society when Mr. Mariden's letter on the Gypsey language was read, I recollected that, several years ago, I had heard my friend Mr. Bryant mention his having collected a considerable number of words used by this wandering tribe; several of which words appeared to bear a close affinity to those of the same meaning in the languages of ancient and of distant nations.

At my request, he has obligingly transmitted the inclosed papers containing the result of his inquiries on the subject; and I take the liberty of putting them into your hands, to be laid before the Society. Besides his own collections, Mr. Bryant has also favoured me with the communication of a letter which he had, some years ago, received from the Rev. Mr. Coxe. That learned traveller, when in Hungary, had met with Gypsies, and had taken, from their mouths, specimens of their language. It is very remarkable, that of seventeen words thus obtained, and enumerated in his letter, fourteen appear to resemble most exactly those of the same signification, as collected by Mr. Bryant in England. To distinguish them, they are marked in the Vocabulary with asterisks.

I am, dear Sir, your most obedient servant,

JOHN DOUGLAS.

A Vocabulary of the Zingara, or Gypsey Language.

A	N ape An afs Air	A. godocovan. millan. yarraw, <i>also</i> beval caulo. mothee. colee. yaccogaree. apra. ionadafa. bebec.	The back A bridle Barley or corn	doonee. solivingro. give.
	The arm Anger An arrow, or any thing missive Above To awake An aunt	B.	C. Cheefe A coat A city A cow A cat A coal A cinder A chimney A child A crown A cock The chin A cup A cradle A cap To command Copper A couch A country	C. cal. chockwan. foroofo. grove and grovence. matchian. shill. vongur. tophis, con, tarno. peng, colah. bohlod. chumbo. eorow. mumallee. hoova. iasia vallacai. careoben. plattomingree. bittutheim.
	A bed A bough Bread To burn Blood Brother A brook		D. The devil Day A dog Drink Death Dark A door Drowned To drink To day A dream A dwarf A dead body	D. beng and beng a *. davies. yaccal. panee. moloo * or miraban. rattie. wooda. adra, panee, paddee. peola. devus. delapray. botton, georgio. moloo, georgio. Ditto
	Braft Black Blue A bird The belly Beer A bridge Breath A bow A barber A book A bath To bathe Beat him A boat	woodrous. bai. mawro *. hatcheriban. ratt. pal. pashoo, pannee or pawnee. porcherie. cauliban. yack. chericloee. per. lavanah. porgee. beval. eufht. mormingro. lill. javomal eo panee. drou panee jal, eodesman. bara and baro.		

Collections on the Zingara, or Gypsey Language. 389

Ditto of a woman moloo, georgee.
A desert or wilder- bauro, coluri, dro-
ness mo.

E.

An eye havoura.
Eight oitoo.
An ear can.
For ever faw jaw
The Earth phove or p'hovee *,
An eagle fauvee.
Eye brows yocne coenue.
To eat chollow.

F.

A father ming and dad.
Flame pratchee.
A flower rogeo or roseo.
A flute scholl.
Fear tresh.
A forest vash.
Fire yog *.
The foot peroe.
The finger valashtee.
Full pordo.
To fly water jam perall.
To fight campen.
The feeling hawlaw.
To faint avefi to jallow.
A flag deckloo.
A fool dennoloo.
Fish matchee.
Found lasthom.
Four flor.
Five peng-

G.

A girl assogne or assoinee *.
A grape baulo paramattee
and peomingro.
Green charro.
God davila * and moda-
val.
Gold fuhakie.

A gipsy romana chil.
A goose pappin.
A grave bauro chumbo
Great bootfee.
A giant borwardo.
A garden finepou.
Give me deas man.
Grandfather pappus or paupus.
Good sport fino, paiafs.

H.

A house gur and kir *.
A hill cumbo and cumbee.
Hail yive.
The head sharrous.
A hen cappeat.
A horse gree.
A harp manchouro.
Heaven ravoo or ravooe.
A husband roma.
A horn shing.
To hear shirn.
Hair ballow.
He and she shan.
Heat tattoo.
A hand vasti.
An hour yacorah.
Harvest givengro.
Hatred hocleben.
Here shulta, theree, aios-
see.
Hungry bocolee.
Hearing shunalo.

I.

A judge bauro.
I. mascul. youee.
I. fem. youefee.
An inn kirchimo podruna.
Iron fashtaa.
An image fino, wocklee.

K.

A king crellis.
A key clerin.

Love

L.

Love	commoben.
Light	dood.
Lite	gava or geeva *.
Letters	liecaw.
A lie	ochano.
A lord, or sir	riah and raiah.
A lady	raiena or roiena *.
A lion	varefs.
Language	romana.
Lost	nafhedoe.
To laugh	fallaw.
To look	aconterree.
A lamb	vaccashoe.
Lightening	bauro, tood, or dood.
The laurel	covascorook.
Little	coofe.
The leg	herree.
Lead	molous.

M.

A mountain	dumbo * and cum- bo.
Mufic	calabeen.
A mother	die or dai.
A man	rome * or giorgeo.
The moon	moonah.
Meat, or food	mafs.
Milk	tood.
Much	boot.
More	everfecofi.
A mile	meou.
To-morrow	ovavo devus.
A mule	milo.

N.

The nose	nock.
Numbers	boot.
Nine	enneah.
A nail of the hand	nie.
New	nevo.
A nutmeg	cockwhur.
A needle	thubh.

A nation
Night

baurifoki.
rattie.

O.

Old	cofhtan.
An ox	geronec.
Oil	tedou, corat.
The ocean	bauro, pance.
One	yec.

P.

Pitch	boyocrot or boyo- corat.
Prayers	missihe.
A priest	rafhee.
A peach	poomingro.
A palace	crellis efcochare.
To pray	moughem.
A path	podrom.
A picture	fine choverie.

R.

Rain	brifkenoe.
A river	doriove or doriobb.
Red	lolo.
A rock	bar.
A ring	vaunuftry.
To run	prafthem.
A road	drom and podrum.

S.

Six	sho.
Seven	afta.
To see	becaffin and difcaloe.
A ship	bara and baro.
The sea	bauro pance * and doeyave.
A steeple	boro, fule.
A fon	chavo.
The fun	cham.
Soot	coulœ.
Sulphur	congrogre.
To fing	givellan.
A fong	gillee or givellee.

A fervant

A servant	radchevo.	The tongue	chive.
A sword	harrow <i>and</i> bauro, charrie.	Thunder	godlie.
Sickness	naphilisoli.	Time	lucumoro.
Sister	pan <i>and</i> pen.	Tears	panee.
Silver	roop.	Truth	techeben.
A star	starrie.	A tree	rook.
A serpent	sep <i>and</i> sap.	A table	missali.
Smoke	tooph.	A tomb	bauro balscoplatti.
Shoes	chawan.	A tooth	dennam.
The soul	lesco, thee.		
A sick man	naphiloofoli.	U.	
A sick woman	naphilee phillee.	An uncle	chauk.
Soon	fic josta.	V.	
A shepherd	baucoringro.	A village	gave.
Strait	fitolongfoli, crooco bango.	A valley	delvo.
Sight	dicken.	The vine	patarim.
Smell	thocmaloe.	W.	
Sleep, <i>or</i> to sleep	favanow.	Water	panee *.
To swear	fovochollo.	The wind	beval.
To speak	racamanfoe.	A waistcoat	bringeree.
Salt	loon.	A woman	romee.
Summer	tattabeen.	Wine	moul.
Silk	p'har.	Words	ohano.
Sand	barraw.	White	porno.
A storm	bauro beval acoche- nos.	To wash	rowamah.
A saddle	boshtow.	To walk	iaw, paraf.
A spur	posomiso, gree.	A whale	bauro mattahee.
		Warm	tattoo.
T.		Winter	shillaloe.
Two	due.	A window	k'howe.
Three	trin.	A whip	chucknee.
Ten	desh.	A wagon	vadon.
Twenty	bish.	A wave	bauro panee.
Twenty-one	yec bish.	Y.	
This	acavat.	Yellow	tedan.
That	acavo.	A year	yabesh.
A town	burgau.	Yesterday	callicoe.
Tar	chinaber.		

Zingara, or Gypsey words, which accord with others in the native Persic, or in the Persic of Indostan.

Zingara.	English.	Persic, or Indostan.
See the vocabulary now communicated.		See Herbert's Travels, p. 99, and p. 315.
Pannee or panee	Water or drink	Panne.
Yog	Fire	Augi.
Cumbee	A hill	Conbee.
Riah and raiah	Sir, or lord	Raiah.
Yaccal	A dog	Iaccal, a kind of wild dog.
Roop	Silver	Roopee, a silver coin.
Gave	A village	Gam.
Mafs	Food	Meafe.
Miffali	A table	Miffale.
Sharrou	The head	Sharree.
Starrie	A star	Starra.
Vafti	The hand	Daft.
Mawro	Bread	Maurow, <i>uncertain</i> .
Doriove or doriobb	A sea or river	Deriaw, Deriobb.
		N. B. <i>Obb</i> is water, as is also <i>dor</i> , in many languages.
Peola.	To drink	Peola, a cup.
Nevo	New	Nevos.
Mumallee	A candle	Mum, and mumbattee, possibly a mistake for <i>numballee</i> .
Clerin	A key	Cleet.
Gur and kir	A house	Gur.
Dennam	A tooth	Dandon.

The Numerals of the Zingara, or Gypsey Tribes; compared with those of Indostan and Persia, as they are to be found in Herbert's Travels, p. 319, and in Bell of Antermomy's Travels, vol. II. p. 117 *.

Zingara.	Persic of Herbert.	Indostan of Bell.
1. Yec	Yec	Eik.
2. Due	Do <i>or</i> dew	Duy.
3. Trin	† Se <i>and</i> tean	Tin.
4. Stor	Char	Tzar.
5. Peng	Panch	Penge.
6. Sho	Shesh	Tzo.
7. Afta	Haft	Tatee.
8. Oitoo	Hasht	Aatza.
9. Enneah	No	Nouy.
10. Desh	Dah	Dasi.
20. Bish	Beest	
30. Bish u desh		
40. Due bisha		

* The following passage from this book is worth transcribing. "During my stay (says Mr. Bell) at Tobolsky, I was informed that a large troop of Gypsies had been lately at that place, to the number of sixty or upwards. The Russians call these vagabonds *Tziggany*. Their sorry baggage was carried upon horses and asses. The Vice Governor sent for some of the chief of the gang, and demanded, whither they were going. They answered to China. He stopped their progress, and sent them back." *Bell's Travels*, vol. II. p. 157. *Simcon Simeonis* seems to have met with some of the Gypsey tribe in Cyprus, in 1332. "Ibidem et vidimus gentem extra civitatem ritu Græcorum utentem, et de genere Chaym se esse asserentem, quæ raro, vel nunquam, in loco aliquo moratur ultra xxx dies; sed semper, velut a Deo maledicta, vaga et profuga post xxx diem de campo in campum, cum tentoriis parvis, oblongis, nigris, et humilibus, ad modum Arabum de cavernâ in cavernam discurrit, quia locus ab his habitatus post dictum terminum efficitur plenus vermibus et immunditiis, cum quibus impossibile est habitare."

Simcon Simeonis Itin. p. 17.

† Herbert says *yec curse* is one mile, and a league or three miles is *tean curse*; *tean* is, therefore, three.

Zingara or Gypsey words, remarkably similar to some in other Languages.

Cham	The sun	חם, חמה, <i>Heb.</i> the sun and heat.
Geeva	Life	חיה, <i>Heb.</i> cheva.
Cufht	A bow	קשת, <i>Heb.</i> cufhet.
Geronce	An ox	קרן, <i>Heb.</i> Keren, quasi cornutus.
Varefs	A lion	ארה; <i>Heb.</i> Also חרם, the sun; of which the lion was an emblem.
Bara	A ship	Bari, <i>Coptic and old Egyptian.</i>
Bai	A bough	Bai, <i>Coptic and Egyptian.</i> See Aulus Gellius.
Rome	A man	Προμαρ, <i>ancient Egyptian.</i> See Herodotus.
Colee	Anger	Χολη, <i>Greek.</i>
Tooph	Smoke	Τυφος, <i>Greek.</i>
Sep or sap	A serpent	Σηψ, <i>Greek.</i>
Tresh	Fear	Τρεω, <i>Greek,</i> trepido.
Apra	Above or over	Supra, <i>ὑπερ.</i>
Raiena and Roiena	A great lady	Regina, <i>Lat.</i> N. B. <i>Rex, regi; roiat,</i> all of the same analogy.
Moul	Wine	Mulfum, <i>Lat.</i>
Drom	A way or road	Δρομος, <i>Greek.</i>
Podrom	A foot path, <i>quasi</i>	Ποδος δρομος, <i>Greek.</i>
Pal	A brother	Fel, <i>Hungarian.</i>
Matchian	A cat	Matcha, a tiger, <i>Malay and Madagascar.</i>
Crellis	A king	Crellis, <i>Bohemian.</i>
Campen	To fight	Campen, <i>Teutonic.</i>
Beuga	The Devil	Beug, night, <i>Mindunas.</i>

XLV. A Description and Plan of the ancient Timber Bridge at Rochester, collected from two MSS. published in Lambarde's Perambulation of Kent. By Mr. Effex.

Read March 17, 1785.

IT is uncertain whether the Romans built any bridges of stone in Britain while they were masters of it; but, that they erected bridges of wood can hardly be doubted; yet the Thames and Medway were impassable at London and Rochester by any other means than ferries until about one hundred years before the Norman Conquest, when a timber bridge was erected at London, and it is not improbable that at Rochester was built about the same time. These bridges being of timber, which of all materials used in building is most subject to decay, were afterwards rebuilt with stone, that at London in 1176, that at Rochester about the year 1386 or 1387. It is impossible to say with certainty how either of these bridges were constructed, though it is well known to those who have observed the progress of the various arts relating to architecture in this kingdom, that the earliest works of carpentry were very rude, their strength depending more on the quantity and substance of the timbers, than on the judicious disposition of them. They generally adapted the structure of their bridges to the nature of the rivers over which they were built; if the current was not very rapid and but moderately deep, they divided the space into as many openings as they found convenient for the length or bear-

ings of their timbers, and then drove as many rows of piles into the bed of the river as they wanted; the heads of these piles being connected by large beams, formed the piers which supported the floor, composed of strong joists, sometimes between forty and fifty feet long, strengthened underneath by timbers resting against the piles, called braces or *capreoli*. In very deep and rapid rivers another manner of building was necessary. In these they erected piers (*perae*) composed of many large piles driven into the bed of the river, inclosing a long hexangular space in form of a stone pier. These were sometimes boarded within and filled with large rough stones and gravel like the wooden piers of a harbour; but this depended upon their dimensions, because in some cases such solidity was unnecessary, particularly in piers of five or six feet thick: but in the Thames and Medway they required the greatest strength and solidity, on account of the height and rapidity of the tides. We may therefore conclude, that London and Rochester bridges were built with piers of this sort, though their number and dimensions cannot be ascertained, no description remaining of the timber bridge over the Thames.

LAMBARDE in his Perambulation of Kent has given copies of two antient MSS. relating to the old timber bridge at Rochester, one bearing the title of *Memorandum de Ponte Roffensi &c.* the other from an old volume in Rochester library collected by Ernulphus the bishop, and called *Textus de Ecclesia Roffensi*. The purport of these MSS. is the same, both shewing by whom the bridge at Rochester should be repaired whenever it was broken. Lambarde in explanation of these MSS. says, *it is to be observed, that so much of the work as ariseth of stone or earth is called pera of the Latin word petra*. Hence some have supposed that the piers were built with stone above high water mark; but the word *pera* used on this occasion signifies the pier of a harbour,

harbour, whether it be of squared stones, like the pier at Ramsgate, or of timber work filled with rough stones as the piers of this bridge, and the piers or moles of many small harbours which are built in the same manner.

It appears by both MSS. that the number of piers contained in this bridge was nine, and the work of these piers was divided as follows :

The 1st belonged to the bishop of Rochester.

2d to Gillingham &c.

3d to the bishop of Rochester.

4th to the king.

5th to the archbishop.

6th to Halingborne &c.

7th and 8th to the men of Hoo,

9th to the archbishop.

The MS. of Ernulfus is more explicit. It says the bishop of the city beginneth þone earl to ppcene þa land þe nan: this was the first pier; and of the ninth, it says þæt iſ þro land þeſ at þam peſt ente. From this it is evident, the first and ninth piers were land piers or abutments, extending pretty far into the river from the land on both sides, to make the entrance into the bridge more commodious, and the ascent easier. Between the abutments there were seven intermediate piers, consequently the number of spaces or arches was *eight*. But Lambarde says, "this ancient bridge consisted of *nine arches* or *peres*;" which is not true, for, if it had *nine* arches, there must have been *ten* piers. In a late history of Rochester it is said these *nine piers* made *ten intermediate spaces in the length of the bridge*; which is impossible, because *ten* intermediate spaces require *eleven* piers, but according to the MSS. there were only *nine* piers; and that two of them were land piers, arms, or abutments, is evident from the MS. of Ernulfus.

The

The floor of this bridge was composed of large timbers resting upon the tops of the piers, and on these the planks; but whether they were covered with gravel, sand, or any other materials, does not appear. These timbers are called *fulliue* or *fuliue*; and Lambarde says, "the great ground posts, plates, or beams, be termed *fulliue*, of the olde Saxon word *fylle*, which we every where know by the name of a ground fille." In Ernulfus's MS. the word *fylla* is used; but in the other *fulliue* or more properly *fuliue*, being derived from the old French or Norman *foliue*, a joist; but it has no connection with ground fills or ground posts. Lambarde's interpretation, however, has led some people to doubt, whether the *foliues* might not be intermediate supports to the floor between pier and pier. These joists were at least forty feet long, extending from one pier to another, and resting about two feet on each. Their substance was not less than twelve or thirteen inches deep, and twelve inches broad; there were ninety-seven or ninety-eight of them, of which twenty-eight were provided by those who built the nine piers, the rest by different persons or places in the county. Although neither the length nor scantling of these joists are mentioned, it was ordered, "quod omnes illæ *fuliue* quæ in ponte illo ponentur tantæ grossitudinis debent esse, ut bene possint sustinere omnia gravia pondera superjacentium planearum, et omnium desuper transeuntium rerum."

The planking was done by those who made the nine piers, certain quantities being allotted to each: in the Latin MS. they are called *virgatas*, but in the Saxon *ḡýpda*. The *virgat* or pole is sixteen feet and a half; the rod is a pole superficial, containing two hundred seventy-two feet three inches; of these, three belonged to the first pier, one to the second, two and a half to the third, three and a half to the fourth, four to the fifth, four to the sixth, four and a half to the seventh and eighth, and four to the ninth; in all twenty-six rods and a half superficial.

Nothing

Nothing is said in either of the MSS. concerning the length or width of this bridge. Lambarde says, it contained in length about twenty-six rods or yards. The author of the History of Rochester before-mentioned makes it twenty-six yards and a half, equal, he says, to four hundred thirty-one feet; he supposes the width did not exceed ten feet. These measures are collected from the quantity of planking and number of joists, and are the only data we have to determine them.

The whole quantity of planking was twenty-six rods and a half. A rod is sixteen feet six inches; consequently twenty-six rods and a half is four hundred thirty-seven feet three inches; and this was the length of the planking. The width of the planking was sixteen feet and a half; because the rod is a superficial measure, containing the square of sixteen feet six inches. But the length of the bridge was not equal to the length of the planking, because it was undoubtedly wider over the two middle divisions than in other parts, for there was a draw-bridge and a tower or gate for its defence. This tower we may suppose stood on the fourth pier called the King's, and that the bridge was made wider over the two divisions beyond it than in other parts, to give sufficient room for those who defended it. If we suppose this part of the bridge was twenty feet wide, the quantity of planking necessary to make the addition will deduct twenty-seven feet from the whole, and leave only four hundred and ten for the length of the bridge; and if the common breadth was sixteen feet six inches, then eight joists at fifteen inches distance were sufficient for the width; but every joist had two braces ten feet long, which required four joists more; so that the number of joists in every division was twelve; consequently the whole number was ninety-six, which agrees very nearly with the number provided, as by the *memorandum de ponte Roffensi*.

FROM what has been collected above it appears, that this bridge consisted of two wings or abutments of timber work and

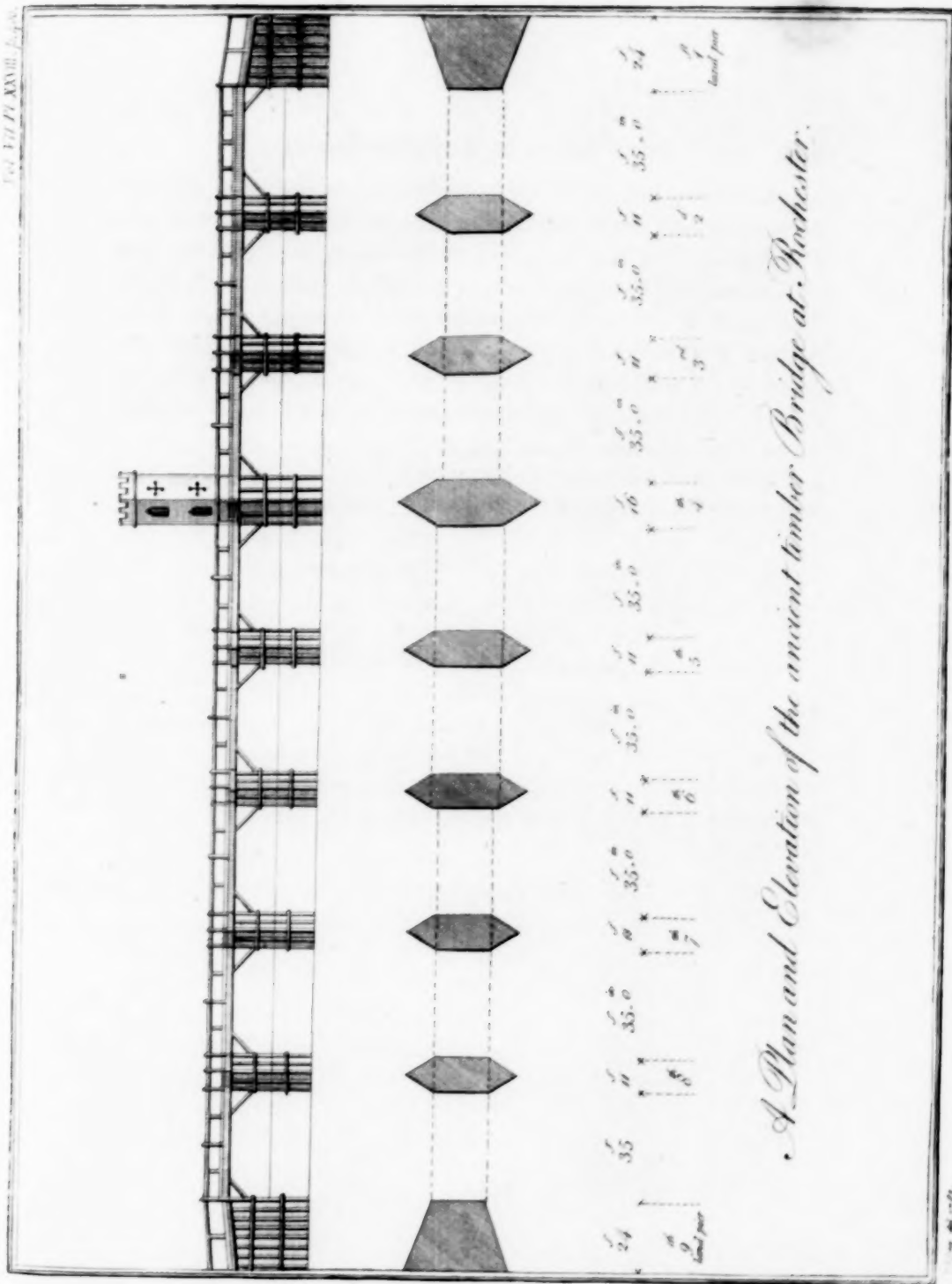
rough stones, and seven piers constructed in the same manner, between which were eight spaces or arches; that it was four hundred and ten feet long, and the common width sixteen feet six inches. As to the dimensions of the piers and breadth of the arches, they cannot be determined with certainty; but if we suppose the arches were equal, and the piers as regularly disposed as the nature of the work would permit, we may form a plan which cannot be much unlike what it was in its original state.

In the plan annexed * I have distributed the length into piers and arches according to the following measures:

	Feet.	Inc.
Two land piers twenty-four feet each	48	0
The King's pier	16	0
Six piers eleven feet each	66	0
Eight arches thirty-five feet each	280	0
whole length	<u>410</u>	<u>0</u>

But as the whole length of the planking was four hundred and thirty-seven feet three inches, the twenty-seven feet three inches remaining was used in the additional breadth over the two middle arches.

* See plate XXVIII.



A P P E N D I X.

VOL. VII.

F f f

AT A
COUNCIL OF THE SOCIETY
OF
ANTIQUARIES.

DECEMBER II, 1776.

RESOLVED,

That such curious communications as the Council shall not think proper to publish *entire* be extracted from the Minutes of the Society, and formed into an Historical Memoir to be annexed to each future Volume of the Archaeologia.

AT A

COUNCIL OF THE DISTRICT

OF

WASHINGTON

December 11, 1904

MEMORANDUM

For the purpose of determining the proper
method of handling the case of the
District of Columbia, the Council
has decided to refer the matter to the
Department of the Interior for their
advice and action.

Some account of a brass Image of Roman workmanship found at Cirencester. In a Letter from the Rev. Mr. John Price of the Bodleian Library at Oxford, 1767.

IN 1732, as some men were ploughing up a large garden ground at Cirencester, the horses ran away with the plough a considerable distance. When the ploughmen overtook them they found sticking to the ploughshare a curious brass or copper image about fifteen inches high: the hair of it nicely curled, parting upon the top of the head, falling down with an easy flow upon the shoulders, and a curled lock upon its brow. The face is juvenile, plump, full cheeked, the eyes large, the eye-balls of silver, with two small holes in the middle, wherein it is probable were formerly set two beads or bright stones. The body is well-proportioned, but rather fleshy like that of a well grown boy; one of the feet had stood flat, the other, which is the left, just rested on the toes, and both by their bottoms appear to have been torn from some pedestal. The right hand is elevated towards the head, and stretched a little forward; the left hand is almost in a right line with the other, but a good deal below it; and by their position something like a bow or spear seems to have passed through them, which is confirmed by the appearance of something broken off both above and below each hand as it had grasped it. It weighed eleven pounds.

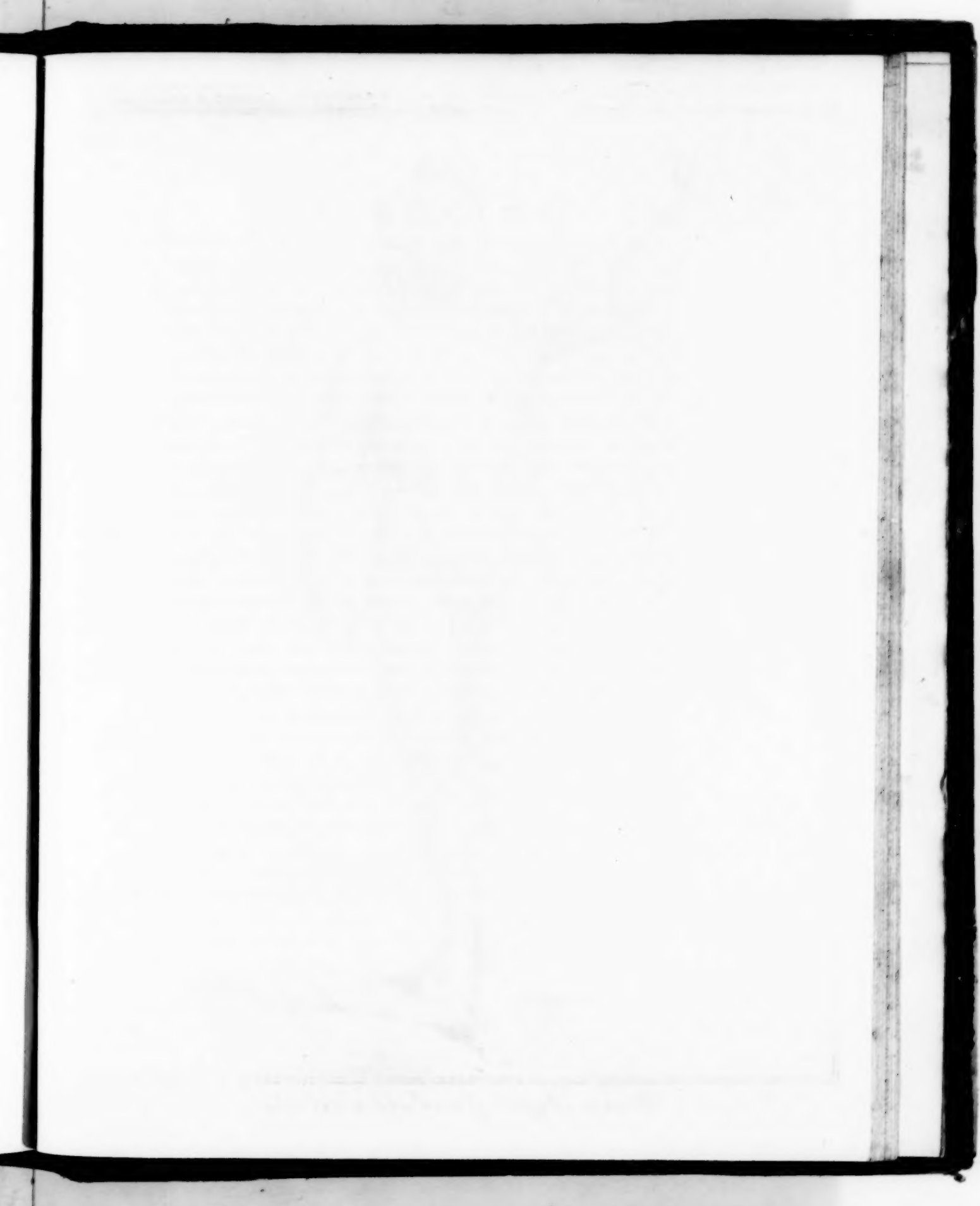
THIS image was afterwards brought up to London, where Mr. Gale saw it [a]. It had a small pin-hole in each shoulder,

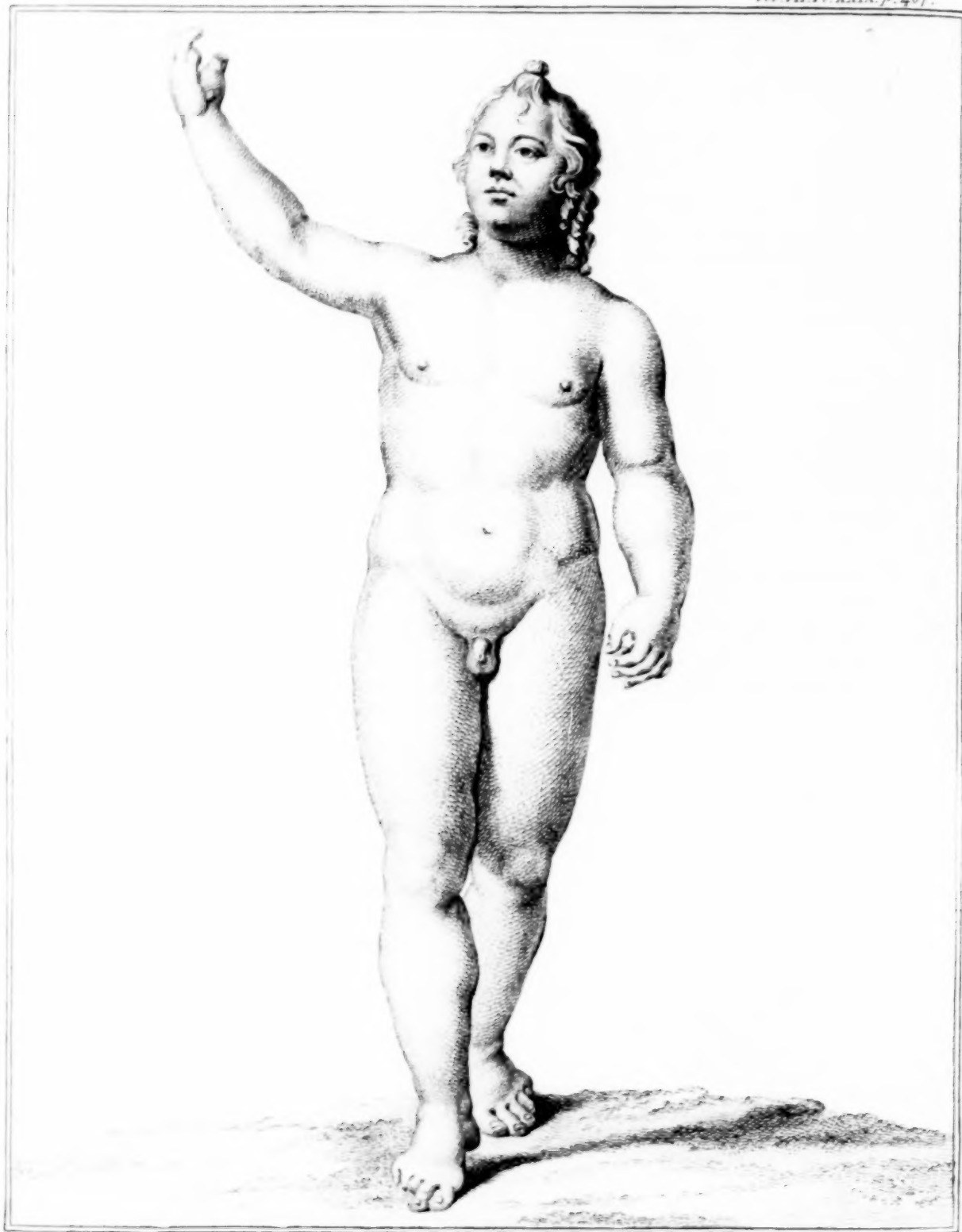
[a] Extract of a letter from Sir John Clerk to Mr. Roger Gale, March 4, 1731-2.

where

where it might have had a pair of wings fixed, from which and the preceding description of it it appears to have been a Cupid or Genius. It is now in the possession of Mr. Master of Cirencester, in whose grounds called the *Lewses*, vulgarly pronounced *Leawses* and derived from a Saxon word of a kindred sound, signifying pastures, it was found. These grounds are part of the site and estate of the abbey of Cirencester within the walls of the antient Corinium, and were at that time in the occupation of Mr. Richard Bishop, one of the most eminent seedsmen in the kingdom. His servants were ploughing this piece of land to a greater depth than is usual in agriculture in order to prepare it for garden seeds. One Bourton among others was levelling the ground after the plough which turned up the image, and scratched it in some parts of the arms. He was the first who spied it, and took immediate possession of it, and entertaining a notion that it was a great curiosity, carried it for a show about the country, and up to London, where Mr. Master took it from him; but, as he says, with a promise that in case he should sell it for a considerable sum he would allow him about twenty pounds. He was informed that the gentleman was offered for it a hundred and fifty pounds. The poor fellow being persuaded that the pupils of the eyes which were missing were certainly diamonds took infinite pains in riddling the earth with a sieve, but without discovering any other parts of the statue.

CARPENTER the tenant of the garden ground at the *Lewses* removing the earth in the summer of 1780 from a number of subterraneous vaults, uncovered a surface twenty-seven feet long by fourteen wide, supported by twenty-six pillars of brick three feet and half high, and seven inches and half square, at fifteen inches distance from each other; the bricks two inches thick and six square. The covering consists of large pieces of cement as hard as stone, from three to four inches thick, and from two to





Bronze Figure found at Cirencester.

three feet square. In them were found some broken pieces of pottery, a few small bones, some Roman coins, and a small quantity of ashes or burnt earth.

At the desire of lord Bathurst, Mr. Maister caused a considerable part of the spot to be further uncovered with care, so that the remains of the hypocaust may be viewed with greater ease.

Sir Henry Englefield 1782 measured the hypocaust thirty-two feet by twenty-four. It is built of rubble three feet thick, faced with square stones about four inches and a quarter thick. The floor is composed of three layers of coarse stucco eighteen inches thick: the floor of the flue three feet two inches below the other of the same substance six inches thick. Another floor three feet below the top of this: the intermediate space filled with rubbish. This double floor is supposed to have been an alteration at a distant period. In the wall are two arches three feet wide and the same height from the floor, formed of stones near three feet deep, partly filled with ashes and charcoal. Another arch remains covered to the keystone. The pillars of the hypocaust are composed of tiles eight inches square and about two thick, with bases and capitals eleven inches square, on which rest tiles two feet square, and on them others of the same size, which complete the floor to the stucco: the pillars are two feet three inches asunder. There is a mass of brickwork nine inches and a half by two and a half, with an opening seventeen inches wide, covered by drawing in the courses of tiles now insulate but once part of the upper floor. Two sorts of bricks are found here, and many fragments of fine beautiful earthen pots.

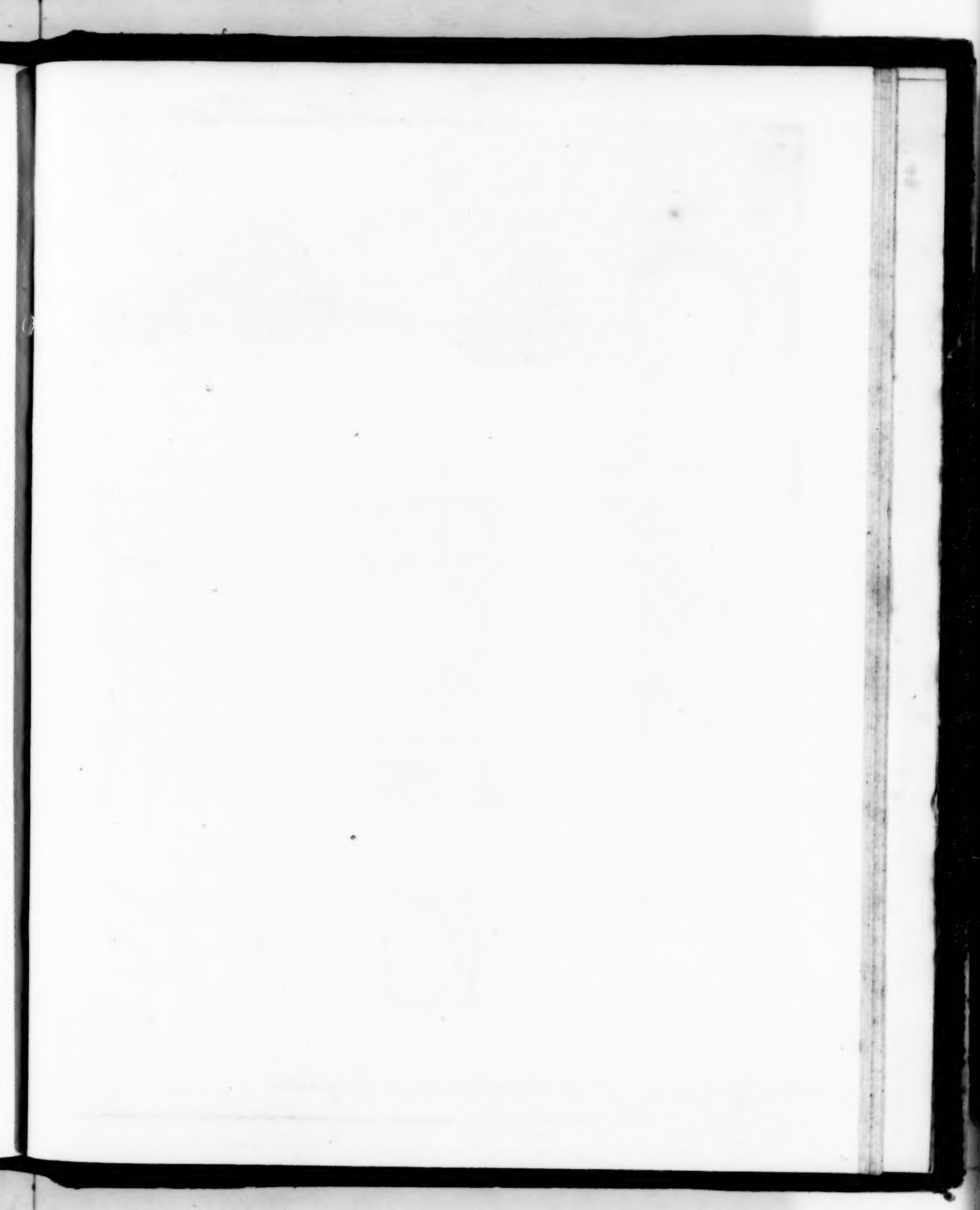
* * The image here engraved plate XXIX. is now the property of the Rev. Mr. Price beforementioned.

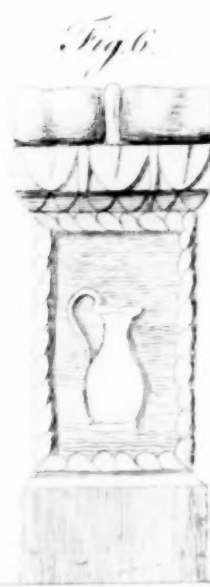
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*Account of Discoveries at Allington in Kent, communicated by
Sir John Pringle, Bart. R. S. Præf. Read March 14, 1776.*

IN the month of April 1755, some men digging for foxes on the top of Aldington knoll near the church, in the parish of Aldington, not far from Romney marsh in Kent, found at some depth in the ground certain narrow slips of copper disposed in regular order. They seemed to have served as a fastening to some woodwork which was covered with beaten gold about the thickness of brown paper. A considerable quantity was said to have been taken up in the neighbouring parish of Smethe, but Mr. Scott of Scotts hall who was present at the discovery could never see a piece larger than that here engraved, which was adorned with something like Mosaic work. His nephew, whose name was also Scott, gave these curiosities to Sir John Pringle, and added that he had heard from his uncle, that there was another similar hollow copper cylinder which was lost. These pieces of antiquity are supposed to have made part of a heathen altar, and were fixed on wood which was intirely consumed. Some burnt human bones were found near the spot, and large stones had stood up disposed like those at Stone-henge, but were thrown down in moving the earth.

* * *Aldington*, vulgarly *Allington*, by its name appears to have been of high antiquity. It has been famous in later times for having Erasmus for its rector 1511, and afterwards pensioner,





Miscellaneous Antiquities

he having twenty pounds *per annum* out of the profits. It is also celebrated for the impostures of the Holy Maid of Kent managed by Erasmus's successor Richard Maister, who was executed for it just before the Reformation [a]. Leland was shewn ruins of a castle near its chapel, and a mace and horn as badges of its having once been a corporation, though he believed it only a member of the port of Lymme. The archbishops of Canterbury had also a fair seat here, much beautified by a bishop Moreton in the reign of Henry VII. Kilburne's Kent, p. 10. Leland's It. vii. 142. Harris's Kent 24.

Plate XXX. fig. 1. One of two copper tubes in form of horns 21 inches long, and $\frac{1}{4}$ inch diameter at base: two thin plates of copper or mixt metal nine inches long, the stones hollow, fitted with a neck as for a socket: and only one surface polished.

Fig. 2. One of two copper cylinders hollow four inches high and $2\frac{1}{4}$ diameter, one of these since lost. A quantity of narrow lifts or bands of copper $\frac{1}{8}$ inch broad, lay as if they had fastened the woodwork, which was covered with pure beaten gold, of which the fragments were about the thickness of brown paper, and diapered with Mosaic work.

[a] Knight's Life of Erasmus, p. 155. 159.

*Extract of a Letter from Henry Penruddock Wyndham, Esq.
on a Roman Pavement found at Caerwent 1778.*

Read May 28, 1778.

THE servants of Mr. Lewis of Chepstow, while they were planting an orchard within the old walls of Caerwent in the month of July 1777, were interrupted in their work by striking on the platform of a Mosaic pavement, which lay about two feet below the present surface of the soil.

THE proprietor, Mr. Lewis, with a laudable spirit, immediately ordered the whole to be carefully cleared, and placed a constant watch about it, till he had erected a stone building over it, as a security against the savage and plundering curiosity of the common people. By these means the pavement is in the utmost preservation, or otherwise the curious might have heard of the discovery of this singular remain and of its destruction at the same instant of time.

THE pavement is in length twenty-one feet six inches, and in breadth eighteen feet four inches. A border edged with the Greek scroll and fret surrounds the whole, but on the north side this border (being upwards of three feet) is much broader than on the other sides. This was designed in order to reduce the circles within a square. These circles are about three feet in diameter and are enriched with variety of elegant ornaments, and separated from each other by regular and equal distances.

I THINK that there are thirteen of these circles. The pieces, of which the pavement is composed, are nearly square, the breadth of them being about the size of a common die. These

are of various colours, blue, white, yellow and red; the first and second are of stone, and the yellow and red of terracotta.

By a judicious mixture of these colours the whole pattern is as strongly described as it could have been in oil colours.

THE original level is perfectly preserved, and the whole composition is so elegant and well executed, that, I think, it has not been surpassed by any Mosaic pavement that has been discovered either on this or even on the other side of the Alps. In my opinion, it is equal to those beautiful pavements which are preserved in the palace of the king of Naples at Portici.

I SHALL not pretend to give you a dissertation on its antiquity, but I am strongly inclined to think that it is of the same age with Agricola; A. D. 80.

No walls nor foundation of walls are to be discovered around the pavement: a heap of stones indeed appears on the south side, which is three feet wide, and extends about eight feet. It begins at the S. W. angle, and breaks into the pavement along the south side. This had so much the appearance of a bank or steps to a bath, that I should have directly concluded it to have been so, if any other foundation had surrounded the pavement, and could have supported my opinion.

Several pieces of tessellated work have been frequently ploughed up at Caerwent, but none have been fortunately preserved. Mr. Lewis informed me that within these few years several have been discovered in small parts, but that their continuation was never pursued.

March 4, 1779.

THE President presented from Dr. William Warren an urn which was dug up not long before at Salndy c. Bedford, which place, as Mr. Aubrey observes, has given frequent proofs of its antiquity by throwing up Roman money. Glass urns have also been discovered, and one red like coral with an inscription. They had ashes in them, and were when Mr. Aubrey wrote in the hands of a gentleman of Bedford.

Dr. Warren observes that the present urn was dug with great care out of the earth, as it had been found very difficult to bring such up intire. He was also assured that it had not been opened, which was confirmed by a subsequent examination of its contents. It was filled uniformly with a grey sand, irregularly intermixed with small fragments of human bones, on some of which appeared the marks of fire. No antiquity of any other kind was found in this urn: but several vegetable fibres had spread themselves through different parts of it, which must have been produced in the quickest state, and shew that it had not been at least lately disturbed. It is made of a dark brown earth slightly glazed, and though the manufacture is less rude than the antient British urns it is by no means equal to the elegant productions of the Roman potteries.

March 25, 1779.

THE President exhibited an elegant brass weapon, dug up the last summer in the great marsh adjoining to Woolwich Warren, on making a boundary canal to the ground purchased for enlarging the Warren. It lay about six feet below the surface of the marsh, very near to the trunk of a tree, which was become very black and almost as hard as ebony. This weapon is

very perfect and in fine preservation, tapering to a point, being broad at the haft into which it was let in and fastened by two rivets of the same metal which still remain. The metal of which it is composed is extremely similar to other weapons found in England and Ireland, and exhibited at different times to this Society by bishop Pococke, governor Pownall, and others.

April 15, 1779.

Mr. Felton exhibited a large collection of Roman coins formed into a mass in the urn in which they were found, of which he gave the following account.

In the summer of 1778, within the manor of Knowle and parish of Hampton in Arden, in the county of Warwick, in ploughing the share of the plough struck against an earthen urn of a dark brown colour and rude workmanship, which being broken by the shock its contents were found to be a mass of Roman coins in weight about fifteen pounds. Many of the coins that had fallen from the lump proved to be those of the emperor Gallienus, his wife Salonina senior, the younger Tetricus, and other usurpers in Britain during the reign of Gallienus. They are mostly copper or that metal washed with tin or silver. The spot on which the urn was found is an eminence as considerable as any in that part of the country. It bears no marks of any tumulus, but appears to have been very ancient, and lies about a mile and a half north of the remains of a Roman station, recognized as such by Sir William Dugdale, now called Arborough Banks, which possibly has been of some consequence as it encompasses about ten acres of land. It is about ten miles N. E. of Alcester, whose name and position on the Ikeneld street denote its consequence while Britain was a province to the Roman empire. It is also about twenty miles S. W. of the Watling-street, and twelve miles N. W. of the Foss.

May

May 13, 1779.

Dr. Lettsom informed the Society, that on one part of a common near *Yealand* in the county of Lancaster is a large hill called *Barrow Hil*, on which are many barrows of earth and stone. In one of these was found last year an urn containing between three and four quarts of human bones calcined, &c. and adjoining the urn was a human skeleton, and a large glass bead of a blue colour above an inch diameter. The urn was supposed British, but broken as usual by workmen hoping to find money at the bottom. Other barrows have been since opened and many human bones found. A piece of one of the bones and a bead were exhibited.

June 3, 1779.

Mr. Barrington exhibited ten silver Roman denarii of the higher empire, part of nearly nine hundred found in an earthen pot by some labourers December 17, 1717, working on the road between the villages of Chatburne and Worsten, about three miles N. E. of Clithero in the county of Lancaster; the whole mass weighed about eight pounds of silver, and was worth above twenty pounds of the present price of silver. The coins were pretty fair but rubbed and injured in cleaning.

Extract of a letter from lady S. Riddell to Mr. Felton, dated Mains near Dumfries, September 26, 1779.

“The estate we are now upon is a rocky romantic scene bordering on the Solway frith, and in order to bring many parts of it into cultivation, we have been obliged to blow up enormous stones, in doing of which lately the miner, on returning to see how the fire had taken effect, found a fine granite stone highly polished,

polished, nine inches long, broad at one end, tapering towards the other, its thickness in the middle six-eighths of an inch, and quite sharp at the edges all round, forced up with the fragments. We are greatly at a loss to know what its original use has been. There are several Druidical temples and Danish burying grounds on the estate; also the remains as believed of a Roman station. The stone in question was lying, when found, in a sort of cavity in the large one that was blasted, and which was much shivered, though still much of it remains deep in the ground: the polish is extremely fine, and not the least defaced, except somewhat though trifling towards the point. There is not the least appearance of the mark of a handle having ever been fixed to it, nor do I think it possible to fix one on account of its tapering form and smoothness of the surface. The very exact shape is surprising, as had it been cast in a mould it could not be more beautifully formed. Its colour is darkish, and extremely fine though not of the green cast of porphyry. There are several Druidical temples in this part of the country. One was destroyed in our absence by the ignorance of our steward, who suffered the workmen repairing the road to get the gravel for covering for it from thence. In doing so they dug up three or four close-mouthed jars of a coarse clay, which their coarse make proves to have been made before the art of glazing was known. They were much broken and the ashes they contained soon became dust. The place being named *Mains* is only alluding to its being the chief part of the estate, and it is usual in Scotland to give this term to the mansion house or chief, and ours is styled the *Mains of Southwick*, from that reason. As I have ever been fond of comparing the former ages with the present, I cannot let any opportunity pass without indulging myself, and among all the collections I have yet seen nothing like this have I met with. The antiquated
feuds

feuds that subsisted in this quarter of the kingdom made it necessary to build castles for defence, many vestiges of which still remain. The Danes had formerly invaded these grounds, as many of their burial places still testify; at least we supposed urns dug up to be of their construction, rather than of the Druids, which is the common belief of the country, nothing else being found near them.

9 inches.



Mr. Brooke communicated December 16, 1779, a singular deed copied from the original in the possession of Milner Perkins, Esq. who inherits the manor as heir general of Robert Amyas mentioned in it, the heir of Amyas having married Savile, the heir of Savile Armitage, the heir of Armitage Perkins grandfather to the present possessor.

The deed runs thus in Latin and English.

“ Omnibus Xpi fidelibus ad quos hoc p̄sens scriptum pven'it Robtus Amyas de Nether Sittlington in com' Ebor' gener' salutem in Deo sempiterno. Noveritis me p̄fatum Robtum Amyas dedisse, concessisse, et hoc presenti scripto meo confirmasse dilecto meo in Xto Johi Bingley yeoman libere, in pace, et quiete de me p̄fat' Robto Amyas hered' exec' et assign' meis habere et tenere sibi et p̄fat' Johi Bingley hered' exec' et assign' suis oīa et singula comoda quecumq' hoc p̄senti scripto meo modo et forma

forma infra recit' vidl'." That the said John Bingley ever hereafter shall quietly have and take to him, his heirs and assigns, in the demaynes of the hall of Nether Sittlington aforefaid, all necessary wood to his and their husbandry geare, as teames, beelds, ploughs, and all needful wood to his waines, sawne timbre for the body of the waines only excepted. Moreover the said John Bingley, his wife, their heirs and assigns, shall yearly if they please come to the hall of Nether Sittlington aforefaid, and sit at the table there at meat next unto the good man of the house, whether he be gentleman or yeoman during the twelve days of Christmas. I the said Robert Amyas do also covenant and grant, by these presents, that the said John Bingley or his assigns shall at all times bring with them one greyhound to hunt the hare, and so often as they be taken in the same domaines to be blameless. And the said John Bingley at all times when need requireth freely to have at the hall of Nether Sittlington aforefaid, in bull and brawne to chuse of his cattle. In cujus rei testimon' ego p'fat' Robtus Amyas huic p'senti scripto meo sigillum meum apposui. Dat' 5^o die Apr. A. R. dñi regis H. 8. Dei grā Angl', Franc', et Hiberniæ sup'emi capitis, &c. 1^o. Hiis testib', Thoma Carter, Thoma Marche, Willo Bayth', Riço Nettleton, Riço Lee, et Robto Gryce. Script. Robt. Amyas.

January 27, 1780.

Mr. Barrington exhibited a celt found in the garden of the Rev. Mr. Roberts at Glangwnny, about a mile and a half east from Caernarvon, and about a mile and a quarter from the ancient Segontium in the same direction. It answers exactly to that described in Vol. V. N^o 1. p. 114.

VOL. VII.

H h h

Sir

Sir Ashton Lever sent 4 vols. MSS. fairly written on *velum*, lately presented to him, containing the accounts of the respective comptrollers of the household, and keepers of the wardrobe of Edward I. and II. The first is entituled,

“*Liber condiamen' contrarotulatoris de recepta et expensis garderobe de anno 28 (E. I.)*” when John de Drokenford was keeper of the wardrobe, and John de Benstede comptroller some years after.

“*Titulus de elemosina regis Edw. filii regis Hen. data p elemosinarium suum et clericos garderobe sue a festo Sti. Edmundi regis et martiris A. R. R. Edw. predicti 28 incipiente usque ad idem festum A° revoluti tempore Johannis de Drokenford tunc custodis garderobe regis predict' et Johannis de Benstede tunc contrarotulatoris ejusdem.*”

The second is entituled,

“*Contrarotulatoris compoti Rogeri de Northburgh cust. gard' domini R. E. fil' R. Edw. de A° 10^{mo}.*” Hunc librum liberavit ad scaccarium Willielmus de Thymelby attornatus magistri Thome de Charleton contrarotulatoris garderobe 14 Feb. A. R. E. 2 post conquestum 4°.”

On the first leaf,

“*Summa totalis expensar' hospitii regis Ed. fil' R. Ed. de a° presenti decimo in denariis sicut patet in fine magni rotuli expensar' predictar' l. 12,392 15. 11 ¼.*”

On the back of the same leaf,

“*Titulus de elemosina r' Ed. fil' r' Ed. data p diversas vices tam p elemosinarium quam p garderobam a festo translationis sci Thome Martini a. r. sui 10^{mo} incipiente usq' ad eund' finem anno revoluti tempore Rogeri de Northburgh custodis dictæ garderobæ et Thome de Charleton contrarotulatoris ejusd'.*

“*Et est summa totalis ut patet in fine istius tituli.*”

In

In the third page near the bottom the last article but one is

"Episcopo puerorum ecclesiæ beatæ Mariæ de Nottingham venienti coram rege die Innocentium de dono et elemosina ipsius dñi regis p manus dñi Gerardi de Kirkeby ibidem 1^o die Januarii 10 s."

The third,

"Liber condiam. contrarotulatoris de a^o 11^{mo}."

"Hunc librum liberavit Willielmus de Thymelby attornatus magistri Thome de Charleton Hereford. episcopi nup contrarotulatoris garderobæ regis Edw. f. r. Edw. 25 Junii a. r. r. Ed. 2 a conquestu 4^o."

"Summa totalis hospitii dñi regis E. f. r. Ed. inter 8^m diem Julii a. r. sui 11^o incipiente et 8^m diem ejusd' mensis a^o revoluto finiente sicut patet in magno rotulo eorundem expensar' £. 438. 3. 7 ÷."

On the back of the first leaf.

"Titulus de elemosina reg' Ed. fil' reg' Edw. data tam p elemosinarium suum quam per clericos garderobæ suæ a festo translationis sci' Thomæ martiris, viz. 8^o die Julii a. r. sui 11^o incipiente usque ad idem festum a^o eod' revoluto tempore Rogeri de Northburgh tunc custodis dicte garderobe et Thome de Charleton tunc contrarotulatoris ejusd'."

These three books are in calfskin covers, with the hair on, drest like parchment, and razures of the hair made for writing the inscription.

The fourth book contains the accounts of 18 Edw. II. 1324. This is the more observable because the whole accompt is written in old French, and contains only the expences of the king's chamberlain, wherein many gifts and expences are upon his favourite Hugh Despenser the younger.

May 31, 1781.

Dr. Stebbing communicated the drawing of an altar (plate XXX. fig. 4, 5, 6, 7.) found March 24 this year, six feet under ground, in digging the cellars of Mr. Jarratt's house in Doncaster. Its height is about two foot and a half, and the inscription

MATRIBUS
M. NAN
TONIVS
ORBIOTAL
V. S. L. M.

The President observed that it is a votive altar dedicated to the *Deae Matres*, and the inscription if read according to the combination of characters not unusual in our English inscriptions will run thus,

Matribus
M. Nan
tonius
Orbiotal

Votum solvit lubens merito.

Altars dedicated to these deities occur in Gruter, p. xcviij. 7. 8. 9. 10. 12. besides several dedicated to the *Matronæ* under different titles, xci, &c. In Horsley's Durh. ii. xxviii. xxix. Northumb. xl. li. Scotl. xxix. Reinesius 172. i. 175. i. 222. i. In Keysser's Antiquitates Septent. p. 371 & seq. See also Mr. Gough's dissertation on the *Deæ Matres*, Archæol. III. 105.

The words *Nantonius* and *Orbiotal* do not occur in any books of inscriptions, but that is the case with many other names that we meet

meet with on inscribed stones. The shortness of the inscription leaves room for nothing more than the name of the person.

The altar itself is elegant. The top is hollowed for libation. The sides represent a simpuvium and pot of flowers, ornaments not uncommon on altars found in Britain. See Horsley, Scot. xxxv. Chesh. II.

March 22, 1781.

Lord Radnor communicated a piece of gold found about August 1780, in a field near Salisbury in the parish of Laverstoke. By the account of William Petty the finder it appears to have been prest out of a cart-rut sideways, as it lay on the surface of the mould adjoining to the rut. It was carried down to Mr. Howell, a silversmith in Salisbury, who having proved it in the usual manner, gave the man thirty-four shillings for it, as the value of the gold, and from Mr. Howell lord Radnor purchased it. Its weight is eleven pennyweights fourteen grains, height one inch and a half, circumference two inches seven-eighths. The metal is as near as may be agreeable to the standard of the present English currency.

Its age may be ascertained by the very legible superscription,

E L H E L V V L F R.

Whether it was or was not designed to be the cap or covering of any little statue, or the locket of a scabbard, or, which is thought most probable, a ring, is submitted to the Society.

It is engraved in three views, plate XXX. fig. 8. 9. 10.

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Charles I. and his Queen.

Plan and elevation of the Minor Canons' houses at Windfor.

Lincoln's Inn chapel, with the Ambulatory.

Plan of Whitehall.

Chichester Cross.

1 3 6

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Portrait of Sir John Hawkwood.

0 1 6

Le Champ de Drap d'Or; or the interview of K. Henry VIII. and Francis I. between Guines and Ardres, 1520; from an original painting at Windfor, with an historical account.

2 2 0

The incampment of the English forces near Portsmouth, together with a view of the English and French fleets at the commencement of the action between them July 19, 1545, from an original painting at Cowdry, with an historical account.

1 5 0

The Embarkation of King Henry VIII. at Dover, May 31, 1520, preparatory to his interview with the French King Francis I. from the original picture 12 feet and 1 inch in length, and 6 feet 5 inches in height, preserved in the royal apartments in Windfor Castle, with an historical description.

1 11 6

Four views of the ruins at Stanton Harcourt.

1 1 0

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